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ABSTRACT

The Educational Integration Initiatives Project (EIIP) was a multidisciplinary study designed to explore the complexities of the interaction of race and education. The EIIP also evaluated how the environment in which students are educated affects their educational performance and personal development. The study begins with a history of the relationship between race and education in the United States including the value of public education and the contention surrounding segregation, desegregation, and integration. An analysis follows of student, teacher, and administrator interviews from the 10 urban schools participating in the EIIP. Between 6 and 12 student interviews were conducted at each school, and interviews were also held with 4 or 5 teachers and administrators from each school. No school that participated in the EIIP was truly integrated as the researchers defined integration. None of these desegregated schools was providing its students with a truly multicultural education in a learning environment that was inclusive and supportive of various student learning styles and that prepared students of all races to continue to higher education and to interact successfully in a multicultural society. Still, students attending the more desegregated schools enjoyed educational advantages that were not available to the students in the racially isolated schools. Recommendations are made to begin a transformative process toward true integration. (Contains 193 endnotes.) (SLD)

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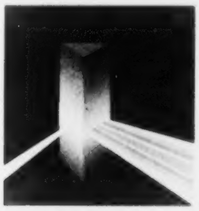

Student Voices Across the Spectrum: The Educational Integration Initiatives Project

May 2000

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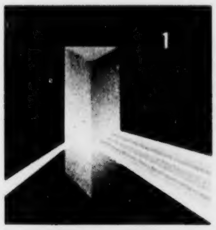
In September 1997, the Institute on Race & Poverty received a grant from the Joyce Foundation to research and conduct analysis of the underlying causes of persistent racial segregation in American public schools. This interdisciplinary qualitative project represents the culmination of the Institute's study and includes discussion and analysis of ten high schools falling on various points of the segregation/desegregation/integration spectrum.

The Institute on Race & Poverty, a strategic research center based at the University of Minnesota Law School, was created to focus on the dynamics created by the intersections of race and poverty. The mission of the organization is to address the problems of low-income people of color, recognizing that race and poverty are intertwined. It was established in 1993 by john a. powell, former national legal director for the American Civil Liberties Union and the Marvin J. Sonosky Professor of Law and Public Policy, at the University of Minnesota Law School in Minneapolis.

Research for this report was provided by IRP staff, including Executive Director john a. powell, as well as researchers Meg Hatlen, Vina Kay, Gavin Kearney and Colleen Walbran.* This report was edited by staff members Susan Hartigan, Lisa Jabaily, Vina Kay, and Lynn Nelson, with layout and design by Derek Brigham.

*Interviews were conducted by Dr. Sandra Patton.



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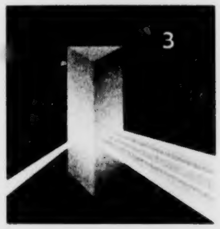


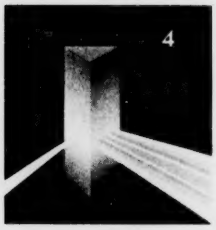
Student Voices Across the Spectrum: The Educational Integration Initiatives Project

Because for me, I grew up in this neighborhood since I was young and, you know, people call it the ghetto, or whatever, but that does not mean that I'm a gangbanger – that I go around doing drive-bys and I do drugs and all that other stuff. Because first of all, before I'll even think about doing anything....I want to be school smart. If I want to be street smart...I'm gonna be school smart also.

This quotation is from one of the high school students interviewed as part of the Educational Integration Initiatives Project (EIIP), a multidisciplinary study conducted by the Institute on Race and Poverty and funded by the Joyce Foundation. The above quotation represents the impressive level of sophistication students possess regarding the interaction of race and education in their lives. Student voices also illustrate the complexities surrounding issues of race, education, and student experiences and achievement. The EIIP is designed to explore these complexities and to evaluate how the environment in which students, particularly students of color, are educated – whether it is segregated, desegregated, or integrated – affects students' educational performance and personal development.

This study is particularly timely because of the contention and confusion surrounding issues of integration today. Public opinion and policies, and judicial doctrine and decision making regarding race and education reflect an increasing ambivalence toward racial integration as a societal ideal and a decreasing emphasis on it as a strategy for achieving equality. Even organizations that led the integrationist movement in the past have expressed varying degrees of disenchantment. For example, the desirability of integration was openly questioned at a recent national meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). At the same time, numerous school districts across the country have sought an end to court-ordered desegregation plans regardless of the racial composition of their schools, and the courts have largely obliged them.

Recently, over the objections of parents and administrators, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School District was ordered to end race-based student busing.[1] This order came thirty years after the district was the first to employ integrative busing, and despite general consensus that the district had a desegregation plan that was working. Meanwhile, school choice and neighborhood schools, two policies that often result in higher levels of racial segregation, have received strong backing in communities across the country. Most of the debate regarding busing and neighborhood schools ignores the fact that our neighborhoods are racially and economically segregated. In the context of segregated school districts, busing may still be an important tool to provide students of color equal educational and life opportunities. When the cost of busing is deemed too high, we fail to consider the cost of segregation. The release of schools from court-ordered desegregation and the resur-



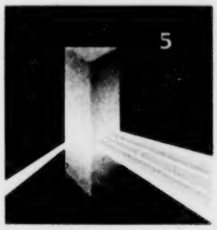
gence of neighborhood schools has resulted in increased racial segregation and isolation.

Movement away from desegregation programs is occurring despite the fact that desegregation in public schools has never been achieved on a broad scale and, as will be discussed later, the fact that we have never understood nor implemented integration at a national level. Although levels of school segregation did decline during the 1970s and 1980s, we have never come close to achieving full educational integration.' Worse still, there has recently been a move toward resegregating schools. Such resistance to integration persists despite a compelling body of research that has found significant educational benefits from racially integrated school environments.

The EIIP seeks to inform the discussion regarding integration by focusing on those who are most impacted by it, namely students. The report captures the experiences of students and, to a lesser extent, teachers and administrators, by relating their experiences through their own words. The context surrounding such experiences is presented through an examination of legal history, policy background, public discourse in the form of media coverage, school curricula, student placement, academic achievement, and student demographics. Consistent with the mission of public education, this project considers the role of education expansively and considers not only student academic achievement and educational attainment, but also personal development and sense of self in relation to the larger community. The goal of the project is to explore whether the racial makeup, policies, and practices of the schools they attend affect the educational experiences of students, and particularly students of color. This is accomplished through a combination of qualitative and quantitative elements. The heart of the research is interviews with students of varying backgrounds from ten schools in six major metropolitan areas: Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; Louisville, Kentucky; Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota; the San Francisco Bay area, California and Washington D.C.

Each of the schools is placed within a spectrum that moves from segregation to desegregation (schools with a numerical balance of racial groups) to integration (schools that are numerically balanced and that have implemented reforms designed to ensure true integration in classrooms and throughout the school as a whole). Interviews with school personnel and quantitative data on each school were examined to measure against the criteria for placement along the spectrum. Situating the schools along the spectrum provides context to student experiences and enables the EIIP to explore critical questions related to integration. At its core, this project sheds light on whether segregated, desegregated, and integrated environments affect the ability of public schools to fulfill their vital roles in our society: ensuring equality of opportunity through preparation for participation in the marketplace and society as a whole, and enhancing personal freedom through self-realization.

The study begins with a history of the relationship between race and education in the United States including the value of public education and the contention surrounding segregation, desegregation, and integration. This part also defines the spectrum of segregation, desegregation, and integration as applied in the EIIP. An analysis then follows of student, teacher, and administrator interviews from the ten schools. We conclude with the study's findings and recommendations to encourage integration in our nation's public schools.



INTRODUCTION

The issue of educational integration is more important now than it ever has been due to several factors: the failure of our schools to equitably educate children of color, the changing composition of our population, and the movement toward resegregation. For the first time in over a decade we are experiencing an increase in overall levels of school segregation at the national level. Undergirding this shift is a skepticism regarding racial integration as a means to achieve equal educational opportunity and the removal of desegregation from our list of societal priorities.

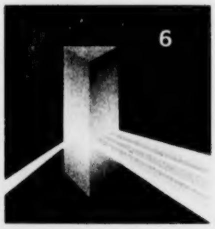
Now is a critical time to evaluate educational integration in a way that gives primacy to the impact that the racial and ethnic environment of a school has on education quality. The EIIP undertakes this evaluation by examining both quantitative and qualitative indicators of educational success within the context of each school – whether it is segregated, desegregated, or integrated.[2]

A. A Brief History of Race and Education in the United States

Education plays a key role in providing equality of opportunity to individuals. As a result, it is not surprising that doing away with separate and unequal education was a central aim of the Civil Rights movement in the early to mid-twentieth century. The law's central role in maintaining this separation, coupled with the legal basis for claims of equality found in the Constitution, contributed significantly to the legal framing of school desegregation and integration. Consequently, an understanding of the legal standards by which courts have created and overseen desegregation, as well as the politics that influenced the development of these standards, provides an invaluable context for exploring contemporary issues of race and education. This national legal and political background also aids the examination of the individual desegregation histories of the various school districts included in this report.[3]

For the majority of American history, blacks (and other non-whites) have had limited rights under United States law. In the important pre-Civil War case of *Dred Scott v. Stanford*,[4] the Court ruled that blacks were not citizens under the U.S. Constitution, and thus had no rights or privileges under that document. Even after the Civil War and the abolishment of slavery, blacks were still not afforded full citizenship. In the 1896 case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*,[5] the Court upheld Jim Crow laws requiring the segregation of blacks to be constitutional so long as they met the infamous "separate but equal" standard. Even black scholar Booker T. Washington argued that blacks might be better off if they helped themselves in their own separate communities.

The Supreme Court's landmark 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*[6] signaled the beginning of the end of explicit segregative policymaking. *Brown* was the culmination of a long and deliberate strategy by challengers of the "separate but equal" standard. Prior to Brown, civil rights advocates engaged in a series of cases challenging the "equal" portion of the "separate but equal" standard by arguing that separate facilities were rarely equal. The white reaction to this strategy demonstrated just how much whites were willing to pay for segregation. Between 1939 and 1954, when courts began to actively enforce the equality mandate, funding for black schools in the South increased by 800 percent.[7]



In order to attack the "separate" portion of the *Plessy* doctrine, the plaintiffs in Brown conceded that the segregated educational facilities involved were equal. In finding for the plaintiffs, the Court overruled *Plessy* and found that segregation created a psychological stigma that deprived minority children of equal educational opportunities. Chief Justice Warren, writing for the Court, found that "to separate [children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."[8] The Court ruled:

> ***In the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.***

The resolve to end segregated schools remained weak, however, even in the judiciary. Despite its sweeping language in *Brown I,* the following year in *Brown v. Board of Education (No. II),*[9] the Court failed to provide an immediate remedy for segregation. Instead, the Court permitted district courts to individually resolve problems of segregation with the vague mandate that this be done "with all deliberate speed." For the next eight years, the Supreme Court refused to hear any new school desegregation cases, even though many states resisted desegregation. By 1963, nine years after the first Brown decision, just over 1 percent of black students in the South attended desegregated schools.

Although *Brown* was a major ideological break from the Jim Crow system, in practical terms very little change occurred until after Congress enacted the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VI of the Act deals with school segregation and authorizes the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) to bring suit against school boards to "further the orderly achievement of desegregation." The Act also brought the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) into the fray. In 1965 and 1966, pursuant to the Act, HEW issued tough guidelines for desegregation that were subsequently used as a model by federal courts overseeing desegregation plans. The Act also provided a new enforcement mechanism to complement the court injunctions already in use: the cutting off of federal school funding to districts not in compliance with the HEW guidelines. The Act was hardly a cure-all, but significant progress was made in its wake. In 1964 only 2.3 percent of southern black children attended desegregated schools, but by 1966 the figure was 12 percent.[10]

In the mid-1960s, the Supreme Court began to hear desegregation cases again, and the opinions of this period reflected an increasing impatience and even embarrassment with how little progress was made under the "with all deliberate speed" doctrine. In 1964, the Court stated that "the time for mere deliberate speed has run out."[11] In the 1968 case of *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County,*[12] the Court banned a favorite dilatory tool of Southern school districts: "freedom-of-choice" programs that ostensibly allowed students to choose the schools they would attend but which resulted in little desegregation. Instead, the Court imposed on school districts that had operated "dual" (i.e. intentionally segregated) systems an "affirmative duty to take whatever steps necessary to convert to a unitary system in which racial discrimination would be eliminated root and branch."[13] While no single approach was mandated, each school district bore the burden of "coming forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now."[14]

The Court turned ardent attention to addressing segregation in the mid-1960s. However, in 1969 the White House raised strong opposition to significant desegregation. In January of 1969, the Nixon administration was sworn into office. Contrary to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Richard Nixon was an opponent of school desegregation. By the summer of 1969, the administration announced that it would no longer avail itself of the power to enforce desegregation under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, thereby leaving enforcement to the courts.[15]

In 1969, faced for the first time with the obstructionist tactics of the newly elected Nixon administration, the Court reacted forcefully. At the request of Nixon's HEW Secretary, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had granted thirty Mississippi school districts a four-month delay in submitting school desegregation plans, thus delaying desegregation for another school year. The Supreme Court issued a terse opinion ordering the Mississippi districts to terminate their dual school systems "at once."[16]

Following the Court's decision in the Mississippi case, the Nixon administration conceded that desegregation in the South could no longer be put off and set about, however reluctantly, to see that it was achieved peacefully. Meanwhile, lower courts responded to the Supreme Court's decision by issuing desegregation orders for numerous Southern school districts. As a result, within a few years Southern schools became less segregated than those in the North.[17]

In 1971, the Court decided *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* and gave lower federal courts broad authority to fashion desegregation remedies, including the use of racial quotas as guidelines, pairing and grouping of noncontiguous school zones, and busing of students.[18] Within a few months, conservatives in Congress attempted twice – both times unsuccessfully – to pass anti-busing legislation. President Nixon, a fervent opponent of busing, proposed his own anti-busing bills and even considered proposing a constitutional amendment banning busing for desegregation but eventually abandoned that idea as impracticable.[19]

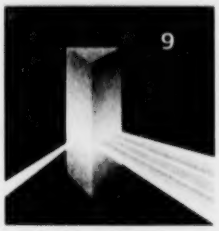
Nixon's legislative and administrative attempts to combat school desegregation were of limited success. The opportunity to significantly alter the make-up of the Supreme Court, however, proved more effective. Nixon appointed four justices to the nine-member Supreme Court. His first two appointees, Warren Burger in 1969 and Harry Blackmun in 1970, appeared willing to go along with the Court's pro-desegregation opinions. However, the resignation in 1971 of Justices Black and Harlan, and their replacement with conservative Justices Powell and Rehnquist, marked a significant turn in the Court's handling of desegregation cases. For seventeen years, from *Brown I* through *Swann*, every major Supreme Court decision on school segregation had been unanimous, and favorable to desegregation. With Nixon's changes to the composition of the Court, unanimity became a thing of the past and progress toward desegregation ground to a halt.

One of the first desegregation cases for the newly composed Court was also the first case in which the Court addressed *de facto* segregation in a northern city. Whereas segregation in southern schools was often required by law (i.e. *de jure*), segregated northern urban school districts were often a product of policies and practices that did not explicitly mandate segregation, but which were driven by segregative motives or foreseeably resulted in segregation. In *Keyes v. School District No. I, (Denver, Colorado)*,[20] in 1973, the Court was faced for the first time with the question of whether the constitution required proof of intent to segregate in order for a violation to be found. Although the dissent stated that such a distinction did not make sense in light of our nation's history, the majority adopted the position that in order to prevail, the plaintiffs must prove that the state intentionally acted to segregate. By interpreting "*de jure*" segregation to include intentionally segregative policies, the Court, in *Keyes*, extended the duty to desegregate to many northern cities. In so doing, however, the Court placed the focus of desegregation cases on what the plaintiffs could prove and rendered the harms of segregation to the periphery rather than utilizing the opportunity to take a broad strike at segregation as advocated by the dissent.

The following year the Court narrowed the scope of desegregation law even further. When plaintiffs in Detroit were able to prove that the state had intentionally segregated black school students, the district court ordered a remedy that encompassed the central city and 53 suburban districts. The Supreme Court overturned this however, in the 1974, five-to-four *Milliken v. Bradley* decision.[21] Even though an earlier Court decision stated that school districts were creatures of the state, the Court ruled that cross-district desegregation measures could not be ordered unless it was shown that all districts involved, in addition to the state, had engaged in intentionally segregative practices. While this decision did not completely rule out metropolitan-wide desegregation efforts, it set a high standard of proof that has rarely been met.[22]

The legacy of *Milliken* has been that even where intentional segregation is proven, remedies are severely limited in scope. Thus, the segregation of a school in a given district is evaluated in relation to the racial composition of the district only and not the surrounding metropolitan areas. Similar desegregation orders require that schools be racially balanced in accordance with the demographics of the district. With districts that are predominantly minority, as is the case with most central city districts, schools can be legally desegregated even if they have few or no white students. There is little to no recourse in the federal court system when whites cross district boundaries to separate themselves from students of color, nor when segregation in the residential market creates school segregation. When the plaintiffs won Milliken, blacks made up 63 percent of the district's students. Today, under the intra-district desegregation plan they make up 90 percent. The schools are more segregated today than prior to *Milliken*.

Another dramatic example of the conservative shift taken by the sharply divided Court is the 1973 decision in *San Antonio School District v. Rodriguez*,[23] in which the Court found no constitutional violation in a Texas school financing system that resulted in large funding disparities between high and low income areas. In a five-to-four decision, with the four Nixon appointees in the majority, the Court held that there is no constitutional right to education. In upholding the funding disparities the Court reasoned that virtually any



rationale for unequal funding is permissible. As a result, there is no federal basis for students to claim the right to equal educational funding or quality.

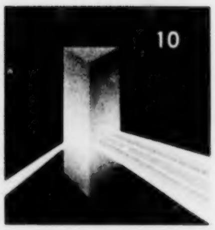
By the 1990s, the Court's earlier vow to eliminate discriminatory segregation "root and branch" was no longer echoed in its decisions. In the 1991 *Oklahoma City School Board v. Dowell* case, the Court reflected the lower courts' intolerance of protracted litigation and supervision when it ruled that once unitary status is attained, i.e. once the remnants of intentional segregation are removed, a district may be released from court-ordered desegregation plans such as busing.[24] Thus, even where a removal of desegregation remedies will result in immediate resegregation, as was the case in *Dowell* where desegregation was only maintained by court-ordered busing, the Court permits the lifting of the order. Furthermore, under the doctrine developed in Keyes, the Court offers no redress for the *de facto* segregation that ensues.

In 1992, the Court made it still easier for school districts to resegregate. Rather than requiring school districts to remain under complete court supervision until all aspects of their systems were desegregated, the Court held that as soon as each aspect of a school system (e.g. student assignments, resource allocation) became "unitary," the district would be released from court supervision in that area.[25]

In its most recent decision on this issue, *Missouri v. Jenkins*,[26] 1995, the Court ruled that a district court had exceeded its remedial authority by ordering Missouri to fund programs designed to attract white students from other districts to schools in the largely black, Kansas City School District. Relying on *Milliken v. Bradley*, the Court found the programs to be inter-district desegregation measures that were impermissible means to remedy what it perceived as *intra*-district segregation. This decision was made in spite of the fact that no suburban students were required to attend Kansas City schools.

A recent report by Gary Orfield and John T. Yun of the Harvard Civil Rights Project[27] showed that trends in desegregation jurisprudence and policymaking have had a significant impact on the racial demographics of America's schools. Levels of school desegregation increased during the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s for African-American students. School desegregation had taken root and most sizable central cities found themselves subject to court-ordered desegregation. For example, in the South only 1 percent of black students attended a majority white school in 1960, but this number increased steadily every year until 1988 at which time 43.5 percent of black students attended majority white schools. Similarly, on a national level only 23.4 percent of black students attended majority white schools during the 1968-69 school year but by 1980-81, 37.1 percent did so. While these gains are significant, they fall far short of full educational integration.

Since the late 1980s, however, as school districts have increasingly been relieved of the duty to desegregate and further court-ordered desegregation has become unrealistic, overall levels of school desegregation have decreased for African Americans. In the period from 1988 to 1994, the number of black students in the South who attended majority white schools declined from 43.5 percent to 36.6 percent. Nationally, the number of black students who attended majority white schools also declined from 37.1 percent during the 1980-81 school year to 31.2 percent during the 1996-97 school year.[28]



While most desegregation efforts have focused on African-American students, Orfield and Yun found that levels of educational segregation for Latino students have been increasing steadily over time, as well. During the 1968-69 school year, nearly half (45.2 percent) of Latino students attended majority white schools. By the 1996-97 school year, however, a mere quarter (25.2 percent) of Latino students attended majority white schools.

B. The Importance of Public Education

The public education system performs several vital functions within our society. Education furthers the key democratic ideals of social mobility and equality of opportunity by providing preparation for college and employment. In this sense, public education is a key component of a meritocratic society in which all citizens have the opportunity to succeed based upon their effort and ability, and regardless of their initial station in life. Therefore, assessing the quality of education a school provides is, in part, a comparative analysis. Schools function not only to provide students with a base level of skills and knowledge, but also to provide students with an education that is comparable to the education of those with whom they will compete for future opportunities.[29]

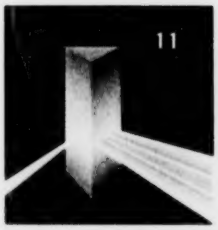
The purpose of education, particularly public education, is not merely to prepare students for work, however. Public education is the primary means by which children learn the values of our society and gain knowledge that will enable them to be positive contributors to society.[30] As Amy Gutmann observed, "Education not only sets the stage for democratic politics, it plays a central role in it."[31] Thus, a third role of public education is to engender in students the ability to express themselves in a democratic arena and instill in them societal values that will ensure the preservation of democracy.

In fulfilling these obligations, education is charged with developing in students a positive self-concept and the ability to think effectively and objectively.[32] Ideally, education fosters an individual's ability to generate new ideas, pose intelligent questions, create solutions, and develop respect for others and for cultural diversity.[33] As Dr. King wrote,

> ***"Some of the greatest criminals in society have been men who possessed the power of concentration and reason, but they had no morals. Intelligence plus character – that is the goal of true education. The complete education gives one not only power of concentration, but worthy objectives upon which to concentrate."*** [34]

C. The Segregation, Desegregation, and Integration Debate

Although the goals of public education, as articulated above, are relatively noncontroversial, the role that segregation, desegregation, and integration play in achieving them is heavily contested. For many years, the general position of the civil rights community was that educational segregation deprived students of color a quality education. Much of the research on the issue supported this position. As articulated in *Brown*, it was believed that segregation not only subjected students of color to inferior educational resources, but it also



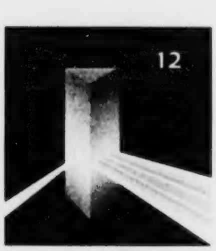
fueled the stereotype that blacks were inferior members of society. Thus, desegregation was perceived by some as a necessary predicate to providing students of color access to equal educational resources and creating an educational environment that would foster citizenship and prepare them to fully participate in political and economic arenas.

Moreover, many believed that desegregation alone would not suffice to allow students of color to achieve their full potential and to prepare all students, including whites, to participate fully in our increasingly multi-racial and multi-ethnic society. They felt that to fulfill the full mandate of public education, educational institutions would need to move beyond desegregation to integration. That is, institutions would have to transform themselves into systems that valued and incorporated the variety of perspectives and identities that exist in a desegregated environment. In 1962, Dr. King articulated this distinction between desegregation and integration:

> ***"Although the terms desegregation and integration are often used interchangeably, there is a great deal of difference between the two. In the context of what our national community needs, desegregation alone is empty and shallow. We must always be aware of the fact that our ultimate goal is integration, and that desegregation is only a first step on the road to the good society. . . .***
>
> ***The word segregation represents a system that is prohibitive; it denies the Negro equal access to schools, parks, restaurants, libraries and the like. Desegregation is eliminative and negative, for it simply removes these legal and social prohibitions. Integration is creative, and is therefore more profound and far-reaching than desegregation. Integration is the positive acceptance of desegregation and the welcomed participation of Negroes into the total range of human activities. Integration is genuine intergroup, interpersonal doing. Desegregation then, rightly, is only a short-range goal. Integration is the ultimate goal of our national community. Thus, as America pursues the important task of respecting the 'letter of the law,' i.e., compliance with desegregation decisions, she must be equally concerned with the 'spirit of the law,' i.e., commitment to the democratic dream of integration."***[35]

Desegregation and integration have always had detractors, even within communities of color. Recently a growing number of people have begun to suggest that the mission of public education can be better achieved in racially homogenous settings, as evidenced by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg case, among others. Whereas segregation was once thought to deprive students of color of a quality education due to material deprivation and stigmatization, today many argue just the opposite. Such opponents of integration are sincerely interested in the educational fortunes of minority children and assert that segregated schools only need an infusion of adequate resources.

It is desegregation, they assert, that stigmatizes students of color by telling them that the only good schools are white schools and that they cannot learn without white students in their classes. They argue that vibrant schools populated primarily



by blacks, Latinos, and other minority groups empower students by instilling in them a strong sense of identity and self-esteem. This serves, they believe, the educational mission of preparing students to participate in economic and political realms by convincing students that they can succeed in these areas. Moreover, these opponents of desegregation argue that allowing students to attend schools in their home neighborhoods will allow parents to be more actively involved in their children's education, thus enhancing student achievement.

Despite these well-intentioned arguments, the EIIP is driven by strong evidence revealing that the most common outcome of segregation for students of color is racial isolation and concentrated poverty.[36] These two conditions create overwhelming obstacles to quality academic and social education, and to access to life opportunities. Therefore, it is imperative to debunk the myths that fuel resegregative movements and to refocus efforts on the original, and thus far unmet, goal of creating a truly integrated educational system in the United States.

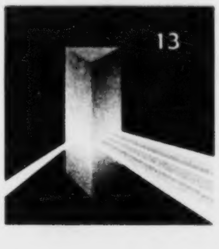
Significant research supports the need to move beyond desegregation to truly integrate schools. Researchers have found that integrated schools offer profound personal and academic advantages to all students. They are careful to point out that white students, as well as students of color, benefit from integrated environments. Allport's contact theory[37] suggests that integration in schools cannot be accomplished unless the following key components are included:

- ***Personal interaction among all students***
- ***Student involvement in cooperative action to achieve mutual goals***
- ***Social norms favoring cross-ethnic contact***
- ***Equal-status contact among all students.***

The relevance of Allport's work has been applauded.[38] Other studies also report the benefits of increased interracial contact, provided students are brought together under conditions of equal status with an emphasis on common goals, rather than on individual and intergroup competition.[39]

Curriculum also has an enormous impact. Schools that teach Euro-centric rather than culturally inclusive curricula present only a small portion of the knowledge pie. Additionally, these schools fail to make learning materials relevant to all students, discourage shared learning, reinforce minority student isolation, and do little to develop positive relationships.[40] Schools can foster greater integration, not only by creating culturally diverse curricula, but also by promoting extracurricular activities that encourage equitable interracial contact.[41]

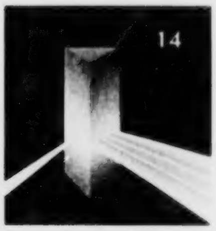
Through an examination of research, contextual studies of the chosen school districts, and insights gained from the interviews, the EIIP has found that in order for schools to become truly integrated, they must move through a transformative process that implements a variety of structural and curricular changes. Although it is important to continually move in the direction of desegregation, achieving integration requires engaging in a transformative process of the school system. EIIP research, including the student and staff interviews, has revealed a number of reform concerns that schools must consciously address as they continue to desegregate and integrate.



1. The Benefits of Desegregation

In this climate of resegregation, educators and policymakers must reexamine the value of desegregation and focus their efforts on implementing desegregation strategies that address current educational conditions and student needs. The basic findings articulated in Brown remain true, and the experiences of desegregation over the years continue to reinforce this truth. A large body of research supports the traditional position that racial segregation adversely affects educational opportunities of children of color. Numerous studies have shown that there are stark differences among segregated schools in terms of available resources, teacher training, and teacher turnover.[42]

Furthermore, research has found that poor student achievement at segregated schools is a function of more than resources and staff.[43] A federally sponsored study of education found that student achievement was greatly influenced by the background of fellow students, especially the degree to which poor children are surrounded by other poor children; teacher and facility quality; and curricula.[44] Several researchers have reported that segregation and prejudicial attitudes are perpetuated throughout life if students do not have early, sustained desegregation experiences.[45] Research demonstrates that minority students in segregated schools underestimate their ability to compete and succeed in school and the market place, which results in severely limited career opportunities.[46]



At the peak of the desegregation movement – from the 1970s to the mid-1980s, researchers documented several positive changes within desegregated schools. For instance, the gap in student achievement and educational attainment between minority and white students lessened demonstrably.[47] When compared to minority graduates of segregated schools, students who attended desegregated schools were more likely to receive higher scholastic achievement scores, less likely to drop out, and more likely to attend predominantly white universities, complete more years of education, and earn higher degrees and higher incomes. Desegregated schools also foster positive interactions in a variety of contexts later in life, such as living in desegregated housing and having integrated social and professional networks.[48]

2. Components of Integration

a. The Problem of Tracking

At the same time, other studies have supported Dr. King's assertion that desegregation is not enough. Where desegregation exists, schools often attempt to assimilate students of color into existing, Euro-centric structures. Many schools resegregate students within the school through curricular choices, assessment and placement, allocation of resources, provision of student services, discipline policies, and extra curricular activities. Desegregated schools commonly utilize some form of ability-group "tracking" in which students of color are disproportionately placed in low-level tracks.[49] More specifically, tracking refers to differentiated curricula and opportunities and serves to resegregate students within the school walls even if students are attending schools that meet federal desegregation standards. The most typical tracks are college preparatory, vocational, and general. This system of tracking students according to their perceived ability or past achievement has evolved into policy that systematically segregates students within a school and is highly correlated with race and class.[50]

Educational researcher Jeannie Oakes found that, "education policy makers acknowledge that students who are relegated to the lower and midlevel tracks are not held to high enough standards to prepare them for college or the transition to work."[51] There is a considerable amount of evidence that non-white students excel in a positive environment with high expectations. However, that type of environment is not the norm in low-track classes where low expectations coupled with ability group placement combine to perpetuate low achievement. This phenomenon almost assures that students initially placed in low groups remain there. In effect, through ability grouping and tracking, schools have created an education system based on the premise of separate and unequal. Research indicates that such categorization produces long-term negative effects that contribute to decreased satisfaction in school, lower self-esteem, higher dropout rates, and lower educational aspirations.[52]

b. College Attendance

One of the goals of education, to prepare students adequately and equitably to go on to higher education, is stopped in its tracks when schools are not truly integrated. A report done by the National Center for Education Statistics, using data from the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, examined access to post-secondary education of 1992 high school graduates within two years of their high school graduation. This report found that family income and parental education levels were the most direct indicators of whether students would attend college. Within two years of their high school graduation, 64 percent of low-income high school graduates, 79 percent of middle income students, and 93 percent of high-income students attended either two or four-year colleges or universities. Low-income students who applied for college and whose academic records and admission test scores qualified them for college attended college at the same rate as similarly qualified middle-income students. However, low-income students were less likely to be academically qualified and to take the necessary steps for college admission. High-income students and those with college-educated parents were more likely to have expectations of going to college when they began high school. Students who as eighth-graders had expected to attend college did in fact attend college at higher-than-average rates.

White and Asian American students were more likely to attend college than black and Hispanic students, but when the statistics were adjusted for family income and parental education level, the proportion of students in post-secondary education was equalized among the races. More than half of the black and Hispanic students came from families with incomes below $25,000, compared to one-third of the Asian American students and one-fifth of the white students. White and Asian students were also substantially more likely to have college-educated parents than black and Hispanic students. These findings reinforce the significance of poverty as it intersects with race in determining college attendance. Exposure to the possibility of college is limited when students attend school and live in neighborhoods with extremely high levels of poverty.

c. Class Size

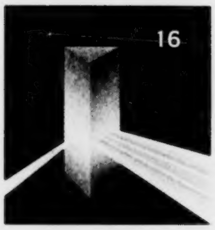
Although somewhat controversial, class size has been found by many researchers to have a marked impact on the educational experiences of students and teachers. Indicators suggest that not only do students tend to exhibit better academic performance but students also benefit from an improved outlook on school as a whole. Minority students experience greater academic achievement in smaller classrooms, as do students from economically or socially disadvantaged families. Students as young as grades K-3 see notable increases in academic achievement -- with the greatest gains in reading and mathematics. The advantages gained during grades K-3 have been found to wane, unless small class size is maintained throughout elementary and secondary schooling. Students benefit from an increase in the amount of time during which they receive individual attention from teachers and demonstrate improvements in attitude and attention. Additionally, teachers attribute a variety of improvements to reduced class size, including fewer discipline problems. Teachers report a reduction in stress and an increase in morale among faculty.[53] Class size is a function of the resources of a school and the school district. Achieving smaller classes with greater teacher interaction is often impossible in schools in poor neighborhoods with high levels of poverty.

d. Cooperative Teaching Strategy

Research on cooperative groups within the field of education has revealed a myriad of benefits to academic achievement, student interaction, and student and teacher satisfaction. Cooperative groups allow students to develop social skills while concurrently reaping academic rewards. Students are able to meet their individual needs (both social and academic) and experience improved self-concept resulting from contributing to the success of the group. Students of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds show an improvement in interpersonal and group relationships. Creating conditions of equal status among group members reduces racial prejudice. Students experience a higher level of learning through exchanging information and they demonstrate increased abilities in critical thinking, reasoning, creativity, oral expression, conflict resolution, attentiveness, retention, and comprehension. Additionally, students are better able to transfer knowledge from one application to another. Student attitudes and motivation improve when undertaking challenges and their expectations of achievement increase.[54]

e. Teacher Training

As the racial and cultural diversity of the country's public school student population increases, the need for multicultural training of teachers has become more and more apparent. Another factor contributing to the call for teacher training in multicultural education is the reduction in the number of minority – specifically African-American – teachers in recent years. America's increasingly diverse student population is being taught by an ever more homogenous faculty. Over the last three decades, researchers in this area have advocated comprehensive diversity training for teachers, both preservice and in-service. Most teacher-training proposals emphasize the need to change the total school environment. These programs begin with the development of a teacher's sense of her or his own cultural identity. They then progress through the



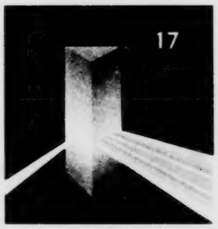
study of the histories of various racial and ethnic groups, education about the dynamics of privilege and prejudice, learning styles of various groups and individuals, and training in adapting classroom instruction to accommodate student cultural resources.

Many colleges and universities have implemented programs to prepare prospective teachers to educate diverse student populations, but few programs infuse multiculturalism and attention to diversity throughout their training. In other words, a truly integrated education is as rare for teachers as it is for their students. Even now, some teacher education programs neither require nor offer courses in multicultural education and, of course, older teachers are less likely to have been exposed to such courses.[55] Colleges and universities must help teachers integrate their multicultural training and experience into their classrooms so that all students benefit from a higher level of cultural awareness and appreciation.

There is compelling evidence of the long-lasting detrimental impacts of segregated school environments, the advantages of desegregated schools, and the encompassing benefits of a truly integrated school system. The debates surrounding the issues are complex and impassioned. The desegregation movement was thwarted by oppositional legislation, misconceptions, and entrenched racist practices. As a result, its original mission to desegregate schools and integrate systems was never accomplished. Valid concerns about tracking and low self-esteem for students of color in desegregated schools have discouraged school systems from pursuing the greater goal of integration. However, the increasing diversity and changing composition of our society calls for a resurgence of the desegregation movement. We must strive for a deeper understanding of the impact of segregation on today's children and tomorrow's society, and determine the best means to mobilize our schools to become truly integrated educational systems.

The EIIP, while unique in its approach, is not alone in its goal of refocusing and regrouping efforts toward integration. The prestigious National Task Force on Minority High Achievement, created by the College Board, is investigating academic achievement gaps among various racial and ethnic student populations.[56] It is publishing a series of reports addressing such issues as underlying causes of achievement disparities, methods to help more minority students reach high levels of achievement, and ideas for families and communities to aid in the cause.

In another effort, Dr. Allan Alson of Evanston Township High School, in Evanston, Illinois, has formed "The Minority Student Achievement Network." The Network is composed of 14 school districts throughout the country and will be addressing the issues of minority achievement on a large scale. The Network had its first conference in June of 1999 and has recently received funding to begin its research. Dr. Alson has said initial plans were to create a compendium of minority achievement programs being conducted throughout the country and to develop a database.[57] The common thread of the EIIP and these other initiatives is an awareness of the continued and growing need to transform our educational system in order to meet our educational responsibility to all students. Legislation, policies, and practices continue to deprive students of color of equitable education and life opportunities and to limit the depth and breadth of education for white students.



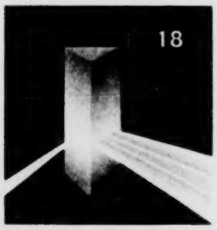
D. The Segregation, Desegregation, and Integration Spectrum

Although this study will not end the debate over segregation and desegregation, the EIIP will contribute to the discourse by providing a detailed portrait of the dynamics of race and education and the way in which race, student experiences, and student achievement interact. As mentioned earlier, the EIIP evaluates how the qualitative experiences of students of color vary in different racial environments, and examines quantitative indicators of academic achievement for these students. The goal of the project is to explore whether the racial makeup, policies, and practices of the schools they attend affect the educational experiences of students of color.

Each of the schools in the EIIP is placed along a continuum that runs from segregated, to desegregated, to integrated. Although these concepts do not lend themselves to precise quantitative definition, they can be defined in general and in relation to one another. Below, we define the terms as they relate to and are used by this study.

1. Segregation

"Segregated" schools are those with a high percentage of students of color and a high percentage of students from low-income families. Although some quantitative studies have defined any school that is less than half white as segregated, the EIIP does not employ such a rigid categorization. One reason for this is that "segregated" is a somewhat relative concept. What constitutes segregation in a very multicultural setting like the Bay Area is not the same as segregation in a less diverse setting, such as the midwestern metropolitan areas. In some of the cities included in our project, schools with minority populations around 50 percent are racially balanced relative to the population of the metropolitan area and afford students the potential for interaction with a significant number of students from different racial and economic backgrounds. Nevertheless, this opportunity diminishes significantly as the minority population increases above 50 percent, and few schools that are 70, 80 and 90 percent minority have substantial middle-class populations and racial and ethnic diversity.



2. Desegregation

For the purposes of the EIIP, "desegregated" schools are those with racially and socioeconomically balanced populations, meaning that a school's population reflects the racial make-up of the larger population of school-aged students. This definition varies from the legal definition of desegregation, which refers to schools that have successfully completed desegregation plans. The legacy of Milliken v. Bradley means that these plans are intra-district in scope, limiting the ability of schools to reflect the true population of a metropolitan area. As the discussion of the legal history of desegregation above illustrates, the legal definition of desegregation addresses only de jure segregation, and thus many schools that are legally "desegregated" have extremely high percentages of minority students. Although the EIIP takes a broader view of desegregation, the limitations of Milliken are considered. As the discussion of the schools will illustrate, achieving desegregation is not possible when districts are severely segregated.

3. Integration

As suggested earlier, desegregation must take place before integration can occur. A school cannot be both segregated and integrated. Desegregation is not equivalent to integration, however. Rather, integration transforms the existing system to meet the needs of all students instead of assimilating students into a traditional, white-centered structure. Integrated schools achieve diversity and inclusion throughout the school and its curricula, rather than attempting to assimilate minority students into a pre-existing educational environment or to present multicultural materials only as an occasional supplement to Eurocentric curricula.

A school placed within the integrated end of the spectrum incorporates the historical, intellectual, and cultural contributions of all ethnic groups into the daily lives of its students. An integrated school employs teaching techniques that address the multitude of student learning styles, and utilizes learning materials created by and about people of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Additionally, an integrated school creates an inclusive, supportive atmosphere to improve student self-esteem and motivation, and encourage positive interactions both in the school and beyond. The goal of integrated schools goes beyond educating students in an inclusive and multicultural environment; the desired result is to integrate the minds of students, to prepare them to prosper in a pluralistic society. An integrated school recognizes that cultures are not static but are constantly evolving. In order to assess the degree to which schools have accomplished integration, a host of characteristics must be examined.

Thus, school policies, multicultural curricula, ethnic clubs, and interracial activities and friendships are characteristics used by the EIIP to determine a school's degree of integration.

E. Methodology

The research methods utilized for this project are multi-disciplinary. Conducting qualitative research within school settings resulted in highly informative interviews with a diverse representation of high school students. These interviews form the core of the EIIP's research and explore several areas, including experiences with segregation, desegregation, integration and racial attitudes; and the effect of these experiences on students' perceptions, actions, achievement and plans. These findings are supplemented by interviews with teachers and administrators.

Data and background information on each school system add a critical element, providing a context in which to understand the interviews, as well as further evidence of the degree to which the schools included are fulfilling their educational mission. Wherever possible, we include data from the 1998-99 school year, when the interviews were conducted. However, due to a lack of standardized data collection and dissemination, some data are from the 1997-98 school year. Additionally, some information was listed for a single year rather than the span of a school year. Given comparisons of data between years, we feel confident that numbers from 1997-98 or 1999 offer an accurate estimate of the conditions in schools during the time the interviews took place. Wherever possible, we also provide data regarding student test scores. Where the information is available, we report the proportion of students receiving free or reduced lunches, which is the best indication of the number of impoverished students attending a school. It is important to note the startling lack of information available regarding the characteristics and conditions of our schools and students. This information is vital in order to research and improve our education system.

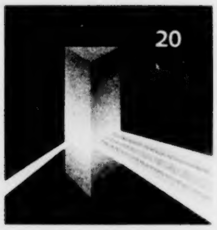
We conducted qualitative interviews during the 1998-99 academic year at schools located in six large metropolitan areas in the United States. Consistent with the mission of the Joyce Foundation, five of the schools are located in the Midwest. Of the five remaining schools, two are located on the West Coast, two on the East Coast, and one in the South. We chose cities in consultation with the Joyce Project Advisory Board; considerations in selecting the cities included ensuring a sufficient diversity of schools to meet the goals of the project and the practical concerns of access and availability.

We conducted on-site research at each school for one to two weeks. Between six and 12 student interviews were conducted at each school with both individuals and small groups. We also interviewed four or five teachers and administrators from each school. We selected students to be interviewed with the aid of suggestions from administrators, informational posters, and solicitation of volunteers in classrooms. Self-selection of subjects is not ideal in any interview-based study, and we did exert some control over the selections to ensure that the students interviewed represented different racial groups within the schools. We obtained statistical data for schools and districts from a variety of sources including school and district Internet sites.

The combination of quantitative data and interviews provides a depth of insight into student, teacher, and administrator experiences within their specific school environments. Through its multi-site and multidisciplinary approach to understanding experiences with desegregation, the EIIP is attentive to both context and patterns. The results prove valuable to both evaluation and policy-making.

Below are the analyses of the legal history, public policy, public discourse, demographics and interview data of each school in the EIIP. We begin each school conversation with a discussion of its contextual surroundings and then give voice to student and staff experiences.

Parents of the student interviewees signed consent forms, and we have taken steps to assure the confidentiality and anonymity of participants, including the use of pseudonyms in place of the schools' names. The photos are representative of high school students in general, not the study participants.



A. Washington, D.C. Schools Context

During the first half of the century, the Washington, D.C. schools were formally segregated. Growth in the population of African Americans in the D.C. area was not matched by expansion of school facilities for black students; this created a school system composed of increasingly underpopulated white schools, and overcrowded, under-funded schools for African-American students. As a result of these disparate conditions, many African-American students were forced to attend school in shifts. Washington, D.C. was desegregated concurrently with *Brown*, but much litigation and policy reform over the subsequent decades resulted in few gains for African-American students. At present, Washington, D.C. is characterized by organizational, financial and facilities crises. The Washington, D.C. schools must overcome many barriers before the majority African-American student population will be adequately served by the system.

In the decade immediately prior to the adoption of the school desegregation policy in 1954, the school district responded to changing patterns of housing segregation and increases in the African-American population. Small numbers of white students from the changing neighborhoods were transferred to the nearest white-dominated schools, essentially consolidating them, and populating the remaining empty schools with African-American students. Then-assistant superintendent Carl Hansen wrote of that period, "There was one policy in the District schools prior to the desegregation program -- although it had two sides: Keep [black] and white students separate. Do everything possible to equalize." The segregated schools were unequal in many respects but particularly in terms of overcrowding, class sizes, availability of special education programs, and facilities.[58]

Prior to the lawsuit that would desegregate the Washington, D.C. schools, the school district had already taken small steps toward ending formal segregation. The Board of Education approved a publication entitled the "Handbook on Intergroup Education," which advocated for the social mingling of students of different races, and in 1952 provided lesson plans to science teachers to debunk biologically based misconceptions of race. Also in 1952, public hearings were held to solicit recommendations on the mechanics of the integration process, some of which were incorporated into the superintendent's initial plan for desegregation, called the Corning Plan. Many African-American and white students were prepped for desegregated classrooms by watching televised classes taught and attended by teachers and students of the respectively opposite race. Between 1952 and 1955, 35,000 elementary students participated in this program.[59]

The District of Columbia is an organism distinct from states and is controlled by the federal government. In *Bolling v. Sharpe*,[60] a companion case to Brown, the Supreme Court held that the Fifth Amendment operates much like the Equal Protection clause to make school segregation unconstitutional in Washington, D.C. Thus the court ordered that the Washington, D.C. schools be desegregated much like schools in states.

Correspondent with the Supreme Court decision, the district adopted a desegregation policy that was implemented in 1954. This policy provided for the creation of neighborhood schools, merit-based employment policies, color-blind pupil treatment, the delineation of attendance zones, a prohibition on the maintenance of data on student racial composition, and a plan to eliminate disparities in the allocation and use of facilities.[61] Demonstrations were held on the first day of school, but the protests subsided quickly.

Because the district was then composed of over 60 percent African-American students, and because of heavy residential segregation, neighborhood schools resulted in most students remaining in heavily segregated schools, but under the desegregation policy, some white students would have been forced into predominantly black schools. The Board of Education reacted to the concerns of whites in several ways. First, the board allowed white students already enrolled at the time of *Bolling* to stay in that school until graduation. Second, the board created "optional zones." Optional zones allowed students to choose between two different school zones so that they could select different schools. These optional zones were created in areas where there were white enclaves, but were not set up in exclusively black neighborhoods.

Tracking, a further impediment to integration, segregated students within schools. The tracking system divided high school students into groups based on multiple indicators of predicted performance. Specifically, students were categorized based on past teacher evaluations, levels of motivation, and intelligence quotient test scores. Following this assessment, students were placed into one of four tracks: honors, college preparatory, general or basic. Early on, it was apparent that the tracks were racially isolating, with the general and basic tracks composed predominantly of African-American students. In 1959, a similar system was installed at the elementary and junior high school levels in Washington, D.C.; the program differed in that students were assigned into three tracks, and motivation was not a component of the assessment procedure. Much lobbying to end the system of tracking tudents occurred throughout the 1965 legislative session. That session closed with the House Committee on Education and Labor recommending the abolition of tracking; however, no action was taken to effectuate this endorsement.[62]

By 1959, three out of 60 formerly white schools remained so. Eleven of the 55 formerly African-American schools remained segregated. However, race-based teacher assignments decreased in frequency during this period.[63]

In *Hobson v. Hansen,*[64] the federal district court found in 1967, that numerous policies, including tracking, were pursued and had the effect of perpetuating segregation in Washington, D.C.'s schools. The court also found that white schools in the district were receiving more funding than black schools, and that there was segregation among teachers and staff. Further, the court found extreme segregation in kindergarten opportunities. Kindergarten was optional and children were placed in kindergarten programs to the extent that facilities existed for these classes. The court found that all white elementary schools had space for enrolling kindergarten children, while black schools had long waiting lists. Finally, the court held that the tracking system employed in the schools was racialized. The court noted that the tracking system was implemented in 1956, two years after the *Bolling* decision, and that black students were relegated to lower tracks at far higher rates than white students.

As a result of these findings, the court held that *de facto* segregation existed in the school system and that this segregated system, along with the tracking system, was unconstitutional. The court ordered desegregation of the schools, termination of the racialized system of tracking, and desegre-

gation of staff and teachers. Following the suit, busing became the primary means of desegregation until 1975.[65]

In 1968, the school board filed a plan with the court, which changed some of the school zones or clusters to increase racial and socioeconomic integration in the school system. In 1970, at the behest of white parents, the board amended its plan. The amended plan allowed children from two predominantly white elementary schools to attend an already over-crowded, predominantly white junior high school, rather than attend the under-crowded but less white school to which they were originally assigned. In a suit brought by white parents whose children remained assigned to the under-crowded schools, the district court struck down the amendment and ordered the board to implement its original plan.[66]

Also in 1970, the district constructed a new school in a white neighborhood and drew the boundary lines for the school in a way that effectively cut off a poor black neighborhood. Poor blacks were assigned to an old overcrowded school, while middle-class whites were assigned to attend this new school, only a block away from the black neighborhood. The court held that the drawing of school zone boundaries in this way was unconstitutional, where an alternate plan was available. The court directed the board to reconsider its assignment plan.[67]

The court revisited the Hobson case in 1971, when the plaintiffs sought greater desegregation measures. The plaintiffs produced data showing that Washington, D.C. schools remained unequal. Schools with 74 percent white students had about 15 percent smaller pupil-teacher ratios, almost 10 percent greater average teacher costs, and almost 27 percent greater teacher expenditure than schools that were over 98 percent black. The court rejected the defendants' contention that these statistics were random and unrelated to race. It ordered that per pupil expenditures and teachers salaries and benefits in Washington, D.C. elementary schools not deviate except for adequate justification by more than five percent for mean per pupil expenditure and for teachers salaries and benefits in all the district's schools.

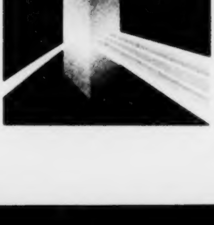
The final education case came to the Washington, D.C. court in 1972, but did not result in any gains for desegregation. The court found that the suit merely implicated congressional discretion in funding certain programs and not others.[68] Congress set up regulations that did not allow expenditures for transportation for black children to go to schools in Maryland. Congress did, however, authorize expenditures for transporting children for other reasons, including busing to special education programs for handicapped children. The plaintiff challenged the legislation asserting that the decision to fund transportation for some groups but not for black children was a violation of equal protection. The court held that Congress had the authority to determine where to allot funds and that the determination to authorize transport for some groups does not mean that Congress must authorize funds for all groups.

The 1960s and '70s were a time of creative reform and localization at the subdistrict level in D.C. In June 1964, the Cardozo Model School Division was established. In 1968 and 1969, local school boards were created to oversee the Morgan, Adams, and Anacostia Community schools. In the mid-'70s, a cluster of schools called the Six Schools Complex, was created to protect local schools from closing due to dwindling population. This proved to be a successful model for desegregation, presaging the

development of magnet schools in the district. Six schools were transformed into four specialized schools and one learning/resource center. Though the goal of furthering integration was undermined by an attendance policy that favored neighborhood children, by 1980 it had effectively retained a larger population of white students than other public schools. At the same time, a federally funded project merged two high schools in order to increase integration. Called TWO-W, after Western and Wilson high schools, this school emphasized quality and the need to attract black and white middle-class families to the public schools. A third innovative school model was the Capitol Hill Cluster, established in 1985, which in many respects replicated the Six Schools Cluster.[69]

Near this time high schools in the district became specialized and open to citywide enrollment. These included a school for the performing arts, a math and science concentration school, and a school without walls.[70] Currently, the district is made up of magnet schools, magnet programs within schools, school within school charter programs, and alternative instruction programs.

The schools in Washington D.C. are now overseen by a nine-member board established in 1996, called the Emergency Transitional Education Board of Trustees, which is in turn overseen by a CEO. According to the first annual report made by the emergency board in 1997, initial reform measures included an overhaul of teachers and staff, the abolishment of social promotion, major facilities improvement, the closing of several schools, and the hiring of 70 bilingual teachers. These moves were characterized as triage.



More accountability-oriented reforms under the emergency board have included the adoption of new leadership structures at nearly every level of administration; a reduction in principals' terms from three years to one year; and the increase in the administration of standardized exams to twice-yearly. A shift in the focus of the curricula under the current leadership is one towards basic skills and performance outcomes. With changes in administration came a radical approach to teacher accountability and a push for greater autonomy in administration. Race has largely been left out of recent school reforms, with the exception of the creation of two entities that have been charged with nurturing racial tolerance: the Office of Multicultural Affairs and the Diversity Task Force.

Decentralization of the school district has been carried out, in part, by the adoption of the Weighted Student Formula for allocating resources. The district explained that before the reform, per-pupil funding was not accessible to the public and created great disparities within the district. They argued that the new funding formula makes allocation public and sets a baseline figure for per-pupil expenditures. Allocation of funds above this baseline is made on the basis of student need and the budget, which is designed by the principal of each individual school. This gives schools far greater control over resources, with approximately 85 percent of non-personnel resources within the first year of reform. More money is allocated to schools that have been targeted by the district as low achieving, having a higher percentage of students from low-income families, or supporting more English language proficiency courses. Budgets submitted by principals are approved by a vote of the emergency board.

The past several years have seen delays in school openings, facilities problems, in-school violence, high per-pupil expenditures, and poor student performance. "The

D.C. public schools spend more than $10,000 per student, highest in the nation, with deplorable results," stated Mike Rosen in a 1998 editorial submitted to The Gazette. A frequently cited statistic is that 85 percent of district students who go on to attend the University of the District of Columbia have to take remedial courses.[71] These are indicators of a troubled district faced with many challenges.

Several approaches to improving the schools have been implemented or put on the table. One such measure is the training of parents to spur parental involvement. Parents are taught to be advocates for education and charged with the mission of reaching out to other parents in their community in order to increase investment. Another measure that has received much attention is the creation of a voucher system that would enable low-income students, predominantly students of color, to attend private and parochial schools. Highly contentious, the voucher program has received support from the African-American community in Washington, D.C., but the White House has articulated resistance to the proposal. In the words of one White House representative, "Establishing a private-school voucher system in the nation's capital would set a dangerous precedent for using federal taxpayer funds for schools that are not accountable to the public."[72] Similar to its role as one of the schools in the first generation of desegregation efforts, Washington, D.C. is considered a laboratory for the nation in the voucher experiment.

1. Rigoberta Menchu High School Washington, D.C.

With a student population composed almost entirely of students of color, Rigoberta Menchu High School was the most segregated school examined in the EIIP. During the 1998-99 school year, Rigoberta Menchu had a student population of roughly 1,000 and was primarily composed of African-American students (97.0 percent). Roughly 2 percent of its students were white and there was one Hispanic student. Students at Rigoberta Menchu scored poorly on the Stanford 9 Standardized Test in the spring of 1999, with most students scoring below the basic level in math and reading. Only 6.5 percent of Menchu students scored at or above the basic level on the math test, as compared to 52 percent of 11th-graders district-wide. Only 29.6 percent of Menchu students scored at or above basic level on the reading test, compared to 25 percent of 11th-graders district-wide. No Menchu students had advanced scores in math and only 0.2 percent of students had advanced scores in reading. Concentrated poverty is overwhelming at Menchu, where 94 percent of students were eligible for free or reduced lunches. Only 0.4 percent of students were enrolled in English as Second Language (ESL) classes and 13.6 percent of students were enrolled in Special Education courses.[73]

The area surrounding Rigoberta Menchu High School had a high incidence of crime, which affected the school and caused the administration to install metal detectors. Despite this harmful environment for students, the primary concern voiced by students and staff was the school's position in the district with respect to funding and

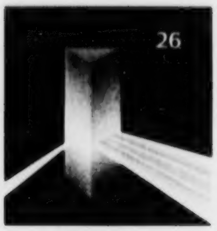
achievement status. One student spoke for most when he said, "The school district does not provide enough money for the D.C. public schools, therefore, we have old books. We need up-to-date materials." This points to a critical national problem – high levels of funding do not necessarily translate into quality resources in our classrooms or schools. Washington, D.C. schools have the highest school expenditures in the country, yet inadequate instructional materials and facilities stand as roadblocks to achievement for these urban, primarily minority students. In order to provide students in segregated, racially isolated, and socioeconomically depressed areas with an equitable education, schools must be allotted high levels of funding that go directly to classroom resources, including curricular materials and teacher pay.

Although some high-poverty schools are able to maintain parental involvement, often these schools, especially those in high poverty neighborhoods, have low parental involvement. Resources focus on providing for families, as opposed to more affluent parents who have the ability to spend more time and money supporting their children's education. Rigoberta Menchu reflected this norm, as it had very low parental involvement. Due to the concentrated poverty of the area, parents were unable to heavily participate in their children's education. An administrator said, "[Parents] that live on the other side [of town] usually have more education, know how to work the system better. And so their children benefit from that. They're – they actively support their child. They speak loud and clear." Most students in the school experienced a lack of support for their education. They were more likely to live in non-traditional families and many were required to tend to all of their school responsibilities on their own. "Like, it's on me." Parents and caregivers demonstrated concern for their students, but expected them to negotiate the day-to-day obstacles and successes of school on their own.

One student said about his mother, "She'll let me figure out what I'm supposed to do in order to make it better." While some students saw this lack of support as positive by making them more independent, most saw it as an impediment. The limited involvement from parents and caregivers also had a negative impact on the school itself. The school was particularly hurt by the absence of an outspoken group of parents to press the district administration for funding and other concerns. An administrator said that the school's funding from the district was low and felt that one of the reasons was that parents did not lobby at the district's door as much as parents from other schools. According to one teacher,

> ***"We don't get nearly the kind of support these days from the community that we used to get. We have PTA meetings – these days if I see five parents from, not just my homeroom but classes as well, if I see a total of five homerooms plus classes, I'm [almost] surprised. Whereas twenty years ago, if we had a PTA meeting, we had it in the cafeteria which has a seating capacity from six to seven hundred."***

In reaction to the low parental involvement, the school implemented workshops to boost support. The principal commented, "[The] workshops [are] for the parents so that they become familiar with what's happening at the school so that, you know, you erase that fear, if there is any, about schools. A lot of times, the language that teachers speak ... is a little above some of



the parents."

Rigoberta Menchu students suffered from low academic achievement, particularly as measured by the Stanford 9 standardized exams. Students, teachers, and administrators were very aware of this problem. Students recognized the school's lack of resources as a major impediment. "Like, they [are] always talking about how our standardized test scores are really low. [But], they don't give us the resources we really need to actually learn those things that we need to know to do good on the test."

While low test scores inspired some to push for reforms and increases in funding, it discouraged others. One student expressed exhaustion with the negative attention from the media, stating that he disliked, "the continued publicity of negative news about our school. All the time you hear things about our school that really aren't true." However, an administrator found that the low Stanford 9 scores incited students to work harder. "The students were real focused, it changed their whole perspective on what they need to do. I've never seen them that focused before."

Students planned to attend college and predicted a wide variety of careers for themselves. However, they expressed concern regarding the school's inability to provide an adequate number of counselors to guide them through the decisions and logistics involved in applying to college. One student said, "We don't have the help here at [Rigoberta Menchu]. I mean, if you go into any other high school in the city, they have everything you need. At [Rigoberta Menchu] ... we don't have a good college resource center where we can get help to find college information and stuff like that." Students felt the lack of guidance was a substantial barrier to success in college. Another student remarked, "From our senior class, we have a lot of people that plan on going. But I don't think they're going to make it." Students wanting to attend college had a mountain of obstacles to overcome, including the high poverty and isolation of their school and community. Despite their lack of resources and positive exposure to college education, these students seemed acutely aware of the difficulties ahead.

Students who were not successful at Rigoberta Menchu were not deemed failures by the staff. Instead, they felt that the school staff needed to try harder and that the responsibility for inadequate performance rested with the school. An administrator said, "We haven't found their learning styles. And then, when we find their learning styles, we tap into that once we find success. And then, you just move on to the others." When asked what made a "good" student, the assistant principal commented that a good student was "someone with self-esteem." She continued,

> ***"[A good student is] someone who has enough confidence in himself, enough self-esteem to realize that because I fail does not make me a bad person. So I can go out and I try, and I will do the best I can...I will be happy with my best. I will go out. I will try. And therefore, I will succeed....Then, coming along with good folks, or to your staff, teachers who are going to nurture you and help you and give you all that they could possibly give, you to see that you are successful. People in your family who go to support you, [also]."***

While factors such as community and family affect students, one teacher commented on the impact the schools have on

students compared to outside influences.

There are clearly [other] institutions in the community that have to play a bigger role but to the extent that we have these young folks as a captive audience seven hours a day, I think there is probably more that we could do to make our young folks feel better about themselves.

For the most part, students felt that some course curricula included a variety of cultures and races. The principal commented, "I don't think there's an emphasis placed on one culture or the other [in the curricula], but a smorgasbord, if you will, of all cultures. So, in that regard, we're pretty liberal with that. You should learn all of them ...so [students will] be well-balanced." Students valued learning about their own and other cultures, finding it important for personal growth, increased understanding amongst individuals, and as preparation for employment in a diverse workplace. One student felt it was important to read literature written by authors of color, "to support them." Students expressed a desire for exposure to more literature written by and about Hispanics. Despite having a student population of 97 percent African-American, some students felt the curricula were still Euro-centric. There was a need for a more pronounced departure from Western, Euro-centric materials and a move toward curricula that reflected student diversity on a daily basis. Yet, most textbooks were outdated, indicating that the curricula were, in part, the result of resource deficiencies, in addition to teacher and administrator attitudes and practices. Many teachers took steps to counter inadequate resources by supplementing materials. A student said,

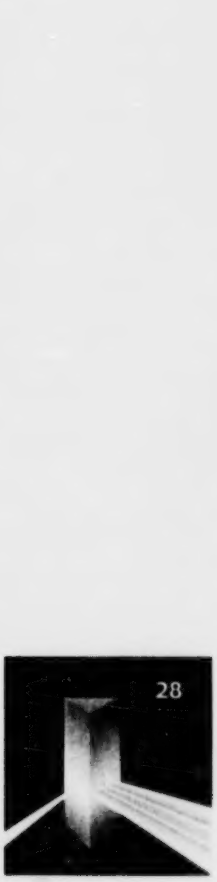
"I'm not trying to be racist or anything, but [books are] kind of from a Caucasian point of view....Working with teachers here at [Rigoberta Menchu] – [they are] predominantly black, so we kinda get a well-rounded education because we get the education from the books that were written by Caucasians, and we get education from our teachers of what the real world is like."

Students and administrators reported little racial tension in the school. The staff consisted of numerous races and ethnicities, which was greatly appreciated by both administrators and students. Student interactions with teachers and one another were viewed as positive and tension-free. An administrator stated that the small minority of non-black students generally had few social or academic difficulties. One student described his sense of the collective student approach to diversity, "[W]e all decide that they are different cultures. And we learn things from them, just like they learn different things from us. See, we kinda cooperate."

One female student commented on the racial dynamics in the nearly all-black school by stating,

"The kids here are not prejudiced, but it's just that they've only been exposed to a certain amount of things, and...[once] you've done something for so long, you become used to it, whatever, it's hard to make a change. So, a lot of the schools here in the D.C. Public Schools area are predominantly black, 'cause D.C. is predominantly black."

Despite the amiable relationships among students, some students tended to segregate themselves into cliques during unstructured times. "People in the school, they hang with their little friends. Everybody got their different little groups like." Students felt that this was due to neighborhood ties. One student stated, "When another person from another neighborhood will come to their group it's like, you can't get along with them because



you're from some other neighborhood." Students called these groups "crews" as opposed to gangs, because their interaction never reached a violent level. In addition to neighborhood ties, students divided themselves along interest lines. Participants in activities such as music or sports developed friendships with one another based on shared knowledge and experiences unique to those activities.

Even though Rigoberta Menchu fell at the far end of the spectrum due to its racial isolation and low socioeconomic level, the policies and practices implemented by the school attempted to provide students with many aspects of an integrated school environment, including multicultural and inclusive programs and curricula. These efforts did not go unnoticed by students. Things such as supplemental multicultural materials, teacher diversity, parental outreach, and teacher caring and enthusiasm were appreciated by students and appeared to positively impact their educational experience. Tragically, such efforts could not overcome the tremendous disadvantages of racial isolation and concentrated poverty due to the wholly segregated student population. As a result, student achievement was low and college attendance was unlikely.

2. Dorothy Day High School Washington, D.C.

Almost exclusively minority and wracked with high poverty, Dorothy Day High School lies at the segregated end of the spectrum. A smaller school than most others in its Washington, D.C. district, Dorothy Day had approximately 675 students during the 1998-1999 academic year. The majority of students were of Hispanic origin (64.0 percent). Of the remaining students, slightly less than one-fourth were African-American (23.0 percent), 12.4 percent were Asian American, 0.4 percent were Caucasian, and 0.1 percent were Native American. Dorothy Day enjoyed a small but diverse population of students from countries including Ethiopia, Latin America, and China.

The majority of students had limited English proficiency (68.8 percent). Students scored poorly on the Stanford 9 standardized exams in the spring of 1999. Only 45.9 percent of Day students scored at or above the basic level in math (similar to the 52 percent of district-wide 11th-graders), while 48.9 percent of Day students scored at or above the basic level in reading (compared to 25 percent of district-wide 11th-graders). Only 1.1 percent of Day students had advanced scores in math and no students had advance scores in reading. These poor scores qualified the school for targeted assistance and put it under a mandate to revise its curricula. Despite the mandate, the school received high praise for its curricular and programmatic emphasis on multiculturalism. Unfortunately such programmatic efforts were countered by racial isolation and debilitating poverty, as nearly all students (97.6 percent) qualified for free or reduced lunches.[74]

Students and teachers were grouped into clusters: business; multilingual communication in the arts; and the math, engineering, science, and health cluster. The school offered AP classes, and special education students were mainstreamed. Students, teachers, and administrators felt that the small scale of the school and the intimacy of the cluster groups resulted in strong interactions among students of differing races and first languages. One student spoke for many when she said, "It's small and the teachers pay more attention to you." Another student said, "I like the

teachers; they give you a lot of confidence."

Teachers and administrators expressed respect and admiration for students. "The students are amazing. When you get to know them you find out they've had these incredibly difficult experiences. But they're still coming to school and they're still trying and they're relatively motivated." Students, in turn, thought highly of their teachers. "We got some good teachers; they really want to help you learn things, if you wanna really learn."

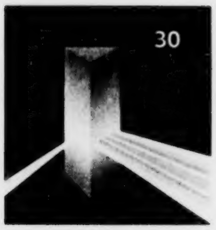
An administrator cited the importance of having a diverse staff in addition to the multicultural curricular focus. "Because a lot of times, you may have a lot of ethnic backgrounds in the, school student population, but the staff may not be as diverse as the students. We have a good balance and I think that trickles down right to the students." A Hispanic student said, "Teachers are, you know, you can get along more with teachers. They, like, sort of understand me. I like [trusting] people that understand me. And they – and, and, I understand them, you know, and it's more Spanish people, you know – it's better, I like it."

Students and teachers alike felt that students interacted and were friends with members of other racial groups. In making this assessment, teachers and students were aware of volatility outside the school environment. An administrator said, "Out [there] in the world, [people are] not getting along as good as we are in here." Second only to receiving individual attention from teachers, students cited the diversity of the school as one of its most valued characteristics. However, some students initially said that they were friends with "everybody." But, as conversations progressed, they qualified those statements by saying they were closer to friends of their own race. A small number of students felt obligated to interact with students of other races because of the multicultural identity of the school.

Students valued the relatively inclusive curricula and heightened cultural awareness at Dorothy Day. They felt that their books, particularly in combination with other culturally oriented programs, contributed to a greater understanding among students and promoted a better life outside of school. One Latina student said of the relevance of inclusive texts and programs, "Not only our people were here. It was a lot of others that were here. Learning, trying to struggle for their own race, too." A teacher said, "We do pretty well [with a multicultural curricula]. We have a really diverse – we have a very diverse faculty….And that, I think, reflects in the work that they choose to do with the students."

A teacher at Dorothy Day had previously conducted a survey of students to determine whether diversity was a priority for them. The teacher asked students if they would rather attend a school that had the best equipment, the best facilities, and was well maintained, or a school that lacked those things but had a diverse student population. The teacher said, "Overwhelmingly kids chose to say that they would choose a multiracial school."

Students felt that language was a barrier to better student interaction. In one class, students documented for one week the racial and language composition of tables in a cafeteria across the street from the school. They found that language was the dominant segregating factor. Similarly, students and teachers found that the racial segregation in their lunchroom and other sites was almost exclusively the product of language differences. "The main issue's the language, you know....You want to speak your own language, you know, other than theirs." A teacher added, "In this par-



ticular school, in order to have a conversation with a person from a different group, you have to have enough English to sit there comfortably for 45 minutes to an hour and converse in English. That eliminates one-third of the school right there."

A small number of students felt that language was occasionally used to deliberately exclude others. In addition to language, students cited familiarity as a common reason for their chosen segregation. "There's like a magnet pulling us, you know what I'm saying? 'Cause we all have different cultures, so – and like, it's all different. They have their own, we have our own."

Although students generally expressed that they found little racism, some students felt that there was a lack of understanding between African-American and Latino students, and that some kids turned to stereotypes to explain the unknown. Students who did occasionally make such comments attempted to excuse their mindset by noting that they learned their racism from their parents. "What I hear is, 'My dad,'or 'My mom, is why I'm racist.'" However, even in light of these concerns students maintained that there was little to no racial tension at the school and reiterated the value of the various racial and ethnic backgrounds of students. They were also aware of the positive value of a culturally and racially diverse school.

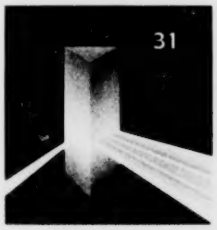
Racial segregation was found in sports teams and clubs. The soccer team was predominantly Latino and the basketball team, African-American. Clubs were homogeneous as well, especially organizations such as the Asian American club. Some students found the racial segregation of other clubs to be very troubling and hoped that, given the multicultural focus of the school, an inter-cultural or international club would be established. "We could have other students learning about our culture and us learning about Hispanic[s] so we don't feel left out [and] so they can learn more about us."

Unlike many other schools, most Dorothy Day parents were relatively active in their students' education.

"We have good parent involvement. It's not great, but it's good. And I think one of the reasons it's good is because of, one – we have a parent coordinator who is, – who has been, very helpful in assisting with the parents and rallying them and getting them together and giving them information."

An administrator expressed his view of the school's greatest challenge.

"In an urban school system it feels like we're constantly under crisis management. We never have a chance to plan ahead effectively....The planning ahead isn't done well, or it isn't done....Scheduling is one example of it. Others are curricular issues. We don't have a clear scope and sequence for all the classes we're teaching. We don't have a strong sense of what students are learning in ninth [grade] English that then prepares them for 10th grade English, that then prepares them for 11th or 12th [grade] English. District-wide that isn't provided and within the school we haven't done it....There's this high level of frustration among a lot of staff about some things. But an equal level of resistance to change."



Students made gains in test scores while at Dorothy Day. "But I think that [Dorothy Day] scores very well in terms of testing. Especially in terms of improvement[s] that [we've] made with [our] population." All students planned to attend college and most were well informed about schools and the admissions process. However, some students experienced racial discrimination from the counselors. One student felt lost but did not receive help from busy and discriminating counselors because she was not Hispanic. When applying for scholarships, one African-American girl found, "getting your stuff done, like getting your transcripts, getting information....I see my Hispanic friends getting help, but when we go ask them, they don't have it anymore."

An administrator feared that students faced great obstacles to successfully completing college, despite high hopes to do so. He discussed two schools in particular, "The University of the District of Columbia, and Montgomery Community College in Maryland. And those are two schools that a lot of our students have gone to and not successfully completed. They get caught in a remediation cycle at those schools where they arrive, they test, they are evaluated as needing four more years of ESL classes or two more years of ESL classes. They enter a cycle of English as a Second Language for remediation courses in math and English and then get two years worth of debt, achieve no real college credit, and then they drop out of school without completing."

Although hopes were high and relationships among students were generally positive, the future academic achievement of students is questionable due to the negative influences of racial segregation and economics. The school instituted many reforms to counter the impediments their students faced. Students were sensitive to and valued these efforts. Although parent involvement, resources and a move toward more inclusive curricula helped in creating a supportive, multicultural atmosphere at Dorothy Day, actual student outcomes had not yet improved. While such practices contributed to creating a more positive educational experience, it was difficult for students to overcome the obstacles created by a largely poor, segregated environment. The isolated student population and concentrated poverty had a strong negative impact on student achievement and opportunities that will extend beyond high school.

B. Chicago Schools Context

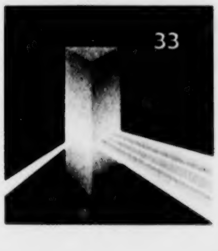
Chicago, like many urban school districts was limited in its desegregation efforts because of the ruling in *Milliken*. Prior to that, in the early 1960s, school segregation was the focus of Chicago's nascent Civil Rights movement. Segregationist school superintendent Benjamin Willis, with his adamant rejection of even modest requests of blacks for access to better schools, became for many the personification of the racially segregated social order fostered by then mayor Richard J. Daley. Chicago school authorities refused to allow black students to transfer to empty white classrooms, instead purchasing expensive mobile classrooms that were used to keep black children in the crowded segregated schools.[75]

The use of mobile classrooms – called "Willis wagons" by detractors – was one of the practices challenged by black parents in a lawsuit filed in 1961. In *Webb v. Board of Education* of Chicago, black parents alleged that several policies and practices of the neighborhood school system were part of a deliberate scheme to segregate schools in Chicago. Allegations included the gerrymandering of district lines, the selection of new school sites to ensure racial homogeneity, and overcrowding of black schools while space was underutilized in white schools. The suit was settled out of court, but it had important consequences. It provided segregation opponents with both a focal point, and a list of specific complaints against *Willis* and the board of education. Also, as part of the settlement agreement, the school board committed to establishing the Advisory Panel on Integration.[76]

A 1964 report by the Advisory Panel documented that 84 percent of Chicago's black students attended segregated schools, and that newer schools were the most segregated. Most black schools were over-crowded; white schools were six times as likely to have unused space. Dissemination of this information bolstered the campaign against segregation, which remained focused on Willis. When Willis threatened to resign rather than enforce a limited transfer program for a small number of black students, the board refused to accept his resignation, and rescinded the policy to which he had objected. This led to school boycotts in October 1963 and February 1964. Again in 1965 the school board demonstrated its continuing support of the controversial Willis by extending his contract beyond his anticipated retirement date. This sparked a summer of protests, including a march to the Chicago city hall led by Martin Luther King, Jr.[77]

Willis finally retired in 1966, but even after his departure little progress was made in desegregating Chicago's schools. Meanwhile, demographic changes in the city, combined with private school attendance by white students, resulted in ever-decreasing percentages of white students, thus lessening the possibilities for truly integrated schools. In 1983, the federal district court presiding over the lawsuit that finally resulted in a comprehensive desegregation plan for Chicago, chastised the NAACP, the Urban League, and other desegregation proponents for failing to press the issue in court before the 1980s, by which time the Chicago school system had become more than 80 percent black and Hispanic.[78] The Supreme Court's *Milliken* decision, excluding suburban school districts from plans to desegregate urban districts, prevented the parties to the Chicago suit from arriving at an effective remedy for the segregation in the Chicago schools.

One pre-1980 suit brought by parents did not directly challenge segregation, but alleged that the school district's funding scheme was discriminatory against students of color and low-income students. The court relied on the Supreme Court's ruling in *Rodriguez*,[79] that education is not a fundamental constitutional right. Because there was no fundamental right involved, and low-income students are not a group entitled to special constitutional protection, the court in deciding the wealth discrimination claim held the state only to the lenient standard of showing a rational basis for the disparities in funding. However, since racial groups are entitled to special constitutional protection against discrimination, the court required Chicago to put forth a compelling state interest for racially discriminatory disparities in funding. Applying these differing standards, the court found that the school-funding scheme did unconstitutionally discriminate against students of color, but not against low-income students. However, the court declined to order relief, finding that the board of education was already making efforts to equalize funding.[80]

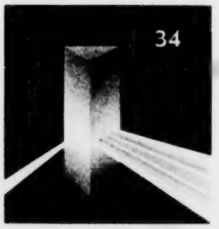


In an unusual case, white parents claimed in Lawler v. Board of Education of Chicago that redistricting and other policies leading to increased enrollment of black students in previously white schools was effectively forcing white students out. The case was dismissed for failure to state a claim of unconstitutional discrimination. Although it was unsuccessful, this lawsuit prompted the school board to implement a racial quota program, called the "Racial Stabilization Plan." The Plan, which limited the percentage of minority students to be admitted to two Chicago high schools, was challenged in federal court by parents of students of color. The Circuit Court held that in an area where there are rapid demographic changes, such as white flight, resulting in newly segregated schools, a voluntary plan imposing racial quotas might be constitutional, if it creates a meaningful opportunity for students to attend integrated schools. The court found that the promotion of integrated schools is a compelling governmental interest that could justify racial quotas.[81] The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, and the Court consolidated it with the Department of Justice case against the Board of Education of Chicago, the city's primary desegregation lawsuit.[82]

The primary desegregation suit in Chicago grew out of a confrontation between the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), the Department of Justice (DOJ), and the Chicago board of education. HEW examined racial demographic records for the Chicago schools and determined that the district was ineligible for federal desegregation funding under the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) because Chicago was in violation of a provision of the ESAA that prohibited desegregation policies that disproportionately burdened minority children. In 1979, HEW directed the Chicago school board to develop a plan to desegregate the city's schools. HEW also referred the matter to the DOJ for investigation and possible litigation. The DOJ threatened that unless significant progress was made in negotiating a desegregation plan, it would bring suit against the board for operating segregated schools in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, Title IV, and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The board, in turn, threatened to bring a counter-suit demanding ESAA funding. A board desegregation committee negotiated with the DOJ and eventually they reached a consent decree, containing a set of general principles to guide the development of a desegregation plan. In order to get court approval of the consent decree, the United States filed a complaint against the Chicago board of education on September 24, 1980, and simultaneously filed the consent decree, which the court signed that same day.[83]

The consent decree outlined three objectives:

- *Achievement of stable desegregation in as many schools as possible (Because of the racial demographics of Chicago students – In the 1981-82 school year the student population was 60.7 percent black, 17.2 percent white, and 19.6 percent Hispanic – immediate desegregation of every public school was determined to be impossible.)*
- *Provision of compensatory educational and related programs in black and Hispanic racially isolated schools*
- *Creation of a program that fairly allocated the burden of desegregation among the various racial groups.*

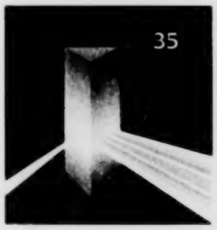


The board of education had to formulate a desegregation plan aimed at meeting these objectives, and submit it for approval by the court. The NAACP and the Urban League asked the board to implement a mandatory racial quota system. However, the board's position was that, in order to achieve stable desegregation and prevent further white flight, participation in the desegregation program should be voluntary. Analyzing the racial composition of the public schools, the board defined as "naturally integrated" all schools with at least 30 percent white and at least 30 percent non-white students. In order to integrate as many of the remaining schools as possible, the board instituted several policies, including integration-enhancing boundary changes that did not increase the schools' busing areas, and a magnet school system designed to create high quality educational institutions, to attract voluntary transfers. The federal district court approved this plan.[84]

Unfortunately, implementation of the consent decree did not proceed smoothly. For several years in the mid-1980s, a lawsuit regarding federal funding under the consent decree bounced back and forth between the federal district court and the circuit court of appeals. The Reagan administration, whose policy was to reduce the role of the federal government in state and local education decisions, was decreasing federal funding for education and for desegregation plans in particular. The Chicago board of education responded by filing a suit claiming that the federal government was bound to assist in funding Chicago's desegregation plan by section 15.1 of the consent decree, which stated: "Each party is obligated to make every good faith effort to find and provide every available form of financial resources adequate for implementation of the desegregation plan."

Four years into the suit, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, reviewing the case for the third time, chastised the parties for their rigid positions, and strongly suggested that the consent decree was unlikely ever to achieve its purpose. Early in the opinion, the court expressed its exasperation: "This litigation has now reached a point where we must abandon any perception that the case is proceeding along on a proper course." The court went on to say, "(t)he story of school desegregation in Chicago can best be described as ironic: litigation concerning the meaning of a consent decree that was designed to avoid protracted litigation continues six years after the decree was approved by the district court." The court ordered the parties to exercise good faith in arriving at a suitable funding arrangement, and warned that if they failed to do so, the court would vacate the consent decree.[85] The funding dispute was finally settled in 1987 when Congress passed the Yates Bill, which allocated $83 million over five years for the desegregation plan in Chicago. At best, Chicago would be faced with limited possibilities even under the consent decree.

Concurrently with the implementation of the magnet-school-based desegregation program, city and state officials have tried various approaches to improving Chicago's schools. In 1988, the Illinois legislature passed the School Reform Act, which decentralized control of Chicago's schools by creating elective local councils for each school. The councils, each consisting of six parents, two teachers and two community members, were given extensive powers to institute educational reforms and remove poorly performing teachers. However, the School Reform Act's call for substantial improvement in attendance, graduation rates and learning was largely unfulfilled. Early enthusiasm for the local councils reflected in good



voter turnout and numbers of candidates for council positions, but fell off within a few years. Test scores and other indicators of school quality showed little improvement.[86]

When the five-year trial period for the local school councils ended in 1995, the Illinois legislature – fed up with the district's chronic failures – gave Chicago Mayor Richard Daley emergency powers to run the city's schools for four years, directing him to overhaul the district's fiscal and academic policies. The mayor appointed his chief of staff, Gery Chico, president of the reform school board, and named his budget director, Paul Vallas as chief executive officer of the school district.[87]

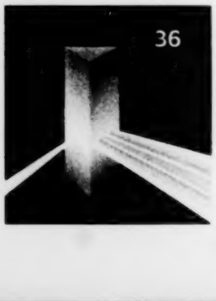
By making aggressive use of the unusually broad powers given them by the legislature, the Chico-Vallas team has won high marks for revitalization of the school system. One of their first crusades was to purge the system of corruption and inefficiency. They found a good deal of both, including misuse of funds for personal use by the Monitoring Commission for Desegregation Implementation. Other reforms have included balancing of the school district's budget; trimming of the bureaucracy; and intervening at foundering schools. The interventions include taking over non-functioning local school councils, placing schools on probation if less than 15 percent of the students are performing at grade level in math and reading, and "reconstitution" of schools by firing ineffective teachers and administrators. The district has also banned social promotions of students, and started a summer school program – called the Summer Bridge program – geared toward preparing struggling students to advance to the next grade level.[88]

Recently the Chico-Vallas reforms have appeared to be having some success. Student test scores have been on the rise, albeit gradually, for the last four years, and are now at the highest level in a decade. The system's poorest performing schools – those placed on academic probation or reconstituted – are also getting on track. Eighty percent of those schools posted gains in standardized test scores in 1998, and 26 were removed from the probation list due to rising test scores. Chief Education Officer, Cozette Buckney, said this year, "our after-school programs and academic-support initiatives are clearly paying dividends."[89]

In step with numerous other urban school districts, Chicago is moving away from desegregation and toward neighborhood schools and other reforms. The desegregation debate has been replaced, to a considerable degree, with discussions of achievement and school choice. Changes threaten to weaken or even abrogate the consent decree, and the district's obligation to desegregate gets less and less attention even as the city remains starkly segregated.

"Busing," often used as a synonym for mandatory desegregation plans, has long been a lightning rod for the storm of controversy surrounding desegregation. Even in Chicago, where busing to magnet schools is voluntary, it has become a convenient target of desegregation opponents in recent years. Because free bus transportation is an integral part of the magnet school program initiated under the consent decree, many Chicago students are bused voluntarily to schools outside their neighborhoods.

But busing has become a target for the new budget-minded regime. When Vallas took over the budget in 1996, he said busing was "a privilege, not an entitlement."[90] A "bus pairing" program initiated in 1998



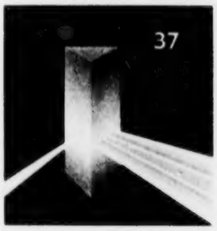
to save money by changing school schedules so that two schools could share one bus, prompted the Chicago Sun-Times to urge the school board to "move even more aggressively to sharply reduce or even eliminate" busing. The Sun-Times editorial called busing "an empty and obsolete exercise in a city where total school enrollment is overwhelmingly minority."[91] In response, the president of the Chicago Urban League, James Compton, wrote a letter to the editor defending busing, and arguing that opponents had overstated its costs. While acknowledging the impossibility of desegregating every school in a district that has barely more than 10 percent white students, Compton argued:

> ***"As we move to embrace a global society, it is imperative that we learn to appreciate different races and ethnicities, both here and abroad. What better time to begin building bridges of understanding than at the elementary school level? Our commitment must ensure that our children will be able to compete in a global economy. Therefore, is it empty to try to limit racial isolation in our public schools through non-mandatory busing options? Is it obsolete for students and their families to voluntarily choose to attend a non-neighborhood school because they believe they will receive a better education somewhere else? We think not."***[92]

The promotion and maintenance of desegregation and diversity are still listed among the objectives of magnet school assignments in the school board's magnet school policies.[93] But in the past few years, student assignment policies have manifested a shift away from the concept of magnet schools as citywide desegregation centers, and toward a preference for neighborhood schools. The ramifications of this ideological shift have become particularly obvious with the recent openings of new elite magnet and college preparatory schools in affluent – and mostly white – sections of the city.

In 1997, school district CEO Vallas proposed setting aside thirty percent of placements in the city's magnet schools for neighborhood students, and limiting magnet-school busing to students living within a six-mile radius of each school. Parents who lived near the magnet schools applauded the proposal, but critics viewed the changes as demonstrative of a reduced commitment to desegregation, arguing that the neighborhood set-aside program was designed to reserve coveted magnet school spaces for children from affluent families living in the predominantly white neighborhoods where new magnet schools are opening. District officials and others claimed that tailoring programs and attendance policies to draw more affluent whites was necessary for diversity's sake.

Vallas also defended the six-mile busing limitation, saying, "this change is being made because excessively long bus rides are not in the best interests of the children."[94] A compromise reached by the school board and the Chicago public schools' Monitoring Commission for Desegregation Implementation was praised for its moderation in a Chicago Sun-Times editorial in October 1997, despite the fact that it put off full implementation of the Vallas proposals for only one year. The compromise reserved 15 percent of magnet school slots in the 1998-99 school year for neighborhood students, with an increase to 30 percent postponed until the fall of 1999.[95]



The controversy surrounding the recently constructed Northside College Prep, which stands to be heavily funded and is located in an affluent area of the city, illustrates the strife engendered by the changes in the magnet school system. Particularly troubling to desegregation proponents is the enrollment policy adopted by this magnet school. Deviating from the guidelines set forth in the consent decree and subsequent regulations, Northside College Prep chose this year to accept 50 percent white students and 50 percent students of color, based on a formula that required white students to have test scores within the top 11 percent of students nationwide, and students of color to have scores within the top 16 percent.

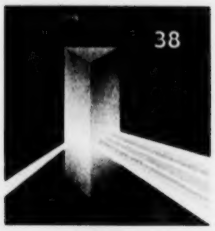
The school district's primary rationale for this is that any other policy would compel the admission of students whose grades and test scores fall too far below those of the white students who applied for enrollment. The other rationale is that the racial composition of the students accepted reflects the composition of the applicant pool.[46] Critics are not persuaded of the value of the city's goal of attracting high-achieving students into the public school system by creating elite schools that are exempted from desegregation rules. James Hammonds, advocacy director of the Chicago Association of Local Schools Councils, commented: "We shouldn't be building these isolated schools for certain people in order to encourage them to remain in the city or come back. We should be building better schools that all students from all parts of the city would have access to."[47]

1. Fannie Lou Hamer High School Chicago, Illinois

Fannie Lou Hamer is a small high school that during the 1998-99 school year was in its fourth year of existence. Almost all of Fannie Lou Hamer students were students of color (98.2 percent) and over three-fourths of them came from low-income families (76.3 percent), placing it fully in the segregated end of the spectrum. In fact, the district experienced even higher levels of poverty, with 84.5 percent of students being low income, as opposed to 36.1 for the state.

This demonstrates an extremely high level of concentrated poverty for students within the district. During 1999, the Hamer student population was almost exclusively African-American and Hispanic, (61.6 percent and 35.5 percent, respectively), with a handful of white, Asian, and Native American students (1.9 percent, 0.8 percent, and 0.3 percent, respectively). Only 0.8 percent of Hamer students had limited English proficiency, whereas 15.9 percent of district and 6.4 percent of state students fit the same category. Hamer experienced a drop-out rate of 6.7, as compared to 15.5 for the district and 5.9 for the state. Hamer had 50 percent of its students meet or exceed the Illinois Standards Achievement Tests in reading, 14 percent in mathematics, and 40 percent in writing. The district had 47 percent for reading, 24 percent for math, and 41 percent for writing while the state saw 70 percent for reading, 52 percent for math, and 66 percent for writing.[48]

The most striking thing about Fannie Lou Hamer High School was the very high con-



centration of poverty and the subsequent depressed academic outcome of students as compared to their state counterparts. Trent has shown that concentrated poverty negatively impacts student outcome more than racial segregation in many schools, and this is evidenced in Fannie Lou Hamer. The school had implemented many effective strategies to combat the poverty of its students and community. However, the strength of the impact of poverty meant that despite counter measures, student achievement remained hindered.

The school was oriented toward hands-on problem solving and, with a cap of 500 students, was small enough to allow teachers and students to know one another and engage in individualized work. Application for admission to the school was required, including two letters of recommendation and a parent letter. Students were selected from all over the city of Chicago. One of the goals of admissions was to create a balance among racial groups and between genders. Students were also screened based on past attendance and standardized test scores. Teaching strategies included loosely structured cooperative groups; project-based, hands-on learning; and a required internship program.

On state standardized tests, 50 percent of tenth-grade Hamer students did not meet state learning goals, 80 percent did not meet math goals, and 60 percent did not meet writing goals. Science scores of 11th-grade students showed some improvement, with 26 percent of students not meeting goals and 12 percent not meeting social science goals. Fannie Lou Hamer's drop-out rate was 6.7, slightly higher than the state's (5.9), but less than half that of the district (15.5). The district saw a graduation rate of 65.3, while the state saw 81.9.[illegible]

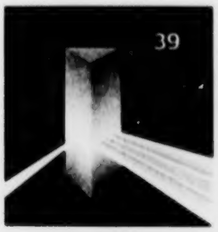
Although students intended to go to college, some teachers felt that success would come only through great struggle for some, and others would not make it at all. Lack of study skills was one of their primary hurdles.

"So, it's really difficult to get the material across to them. For instance, the note taking. They were – I was giving them readings and telling them, 'You guys take notes. You're gonna get quizzed from it.' And they all failed. You know, their skills aren't [developed]. And so it's a big struggle. How far...back should I go in teaching them these skills?"

Despite their concerns, teachers encouraged students to attend college, but felt that the more independent setting of a university would be a stark contrast to the "pampering" they received at Fannie Lou Hamer. The principal had arranged an ACT prep class for the junior class. In addition, the school was preparing to help students with college entrance and scholarship applications.

Some teachers proposed taking further steps to help prepare students for the added responsibility of college life.

"I think the majority will [go to college]. I don't know how many of them will get through their first year of college, 'cause I think college is going to be a shock to them, as it is for everybody....Okay, for these kids, you know, they're use to, 'What do you need?'...The freshman dropout rate at the university is huge, even among students who are better prepared. So, I think it might be an issue about them surviving once they get there, 'cause



they're not really understanding the workload that kicks in....The University of Illinois does this – they have a 'bridge program.' A lot of the bigger universities have a bridge program where kids that they expect to have difficulties will come down for three or four weeks in August and they'll get those kids trained and better adapted to the environment – to the school – to the environment early. And those kids do succeed better. And I think we'll get our kids into those types of programs....And [college] retention rates for students of color are much lower than for white students....When they go through the bridge program the retention rate shoots right up again. Basically, they're prepared."

In contrast to the concerns of teachers, students had high aspirations and felt confident that the attention and encouragement from teachers was preparing them for success in college and beyond. "I'm going to go to college. And, study nursing, yeah, and go to medical school."

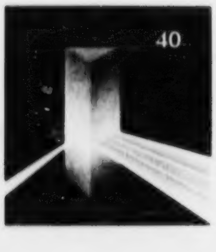
Additionally, students sought out programs to provide them with experiences beyond the classroom.

"In seventh or eighth grade, after we took the constitution, I was really sure that I wanted to be a law professor, 'cause I love constitutional law. And I knew it's something, eventually, one day, I'll wanna teach. And then last year, I had [an] internship at [Taylor] Museum of American Art. And I got a chance to work in the education department. And I talked to docents and curators, and I got exposed to another totally different field, which really turned me on. So now, I'm kinda caught, because I knew that I wanted to be a law professor. Now I think I wanna be a museum curator."

The school as a whole enjoyed strong parental involvement. At home, students experienced support for working or going on to college, but faced a lack of parental support for daily schoolwork, due primarily to difficult or chaotic home lives. Students and teachers alike recognized this as a tremendous obstacle to academic success despite student aspirations.

"I could go on to family involvement, you know. Because I really think if you don't have someone at home saying, 'Get on these books. No, you can't watch TV,' you're not gonna do well, unless you just have that ingrained in yourself. And there's very few teenagers who have that in them....Family, and what's going on at home, is huge, I think. And, I think one of the things that's benefiting a lot of our Latino students is the fact that they're first generation. And so, I think that there's this pressure on them to get that American dream. And, I think another thing is parents, you know. Our Latino parents are so afraid of them becoming like American kids that they're a lot more strict. They don't, you know – so that they have to be home at a certain time. They're on 'em a little bit...."

Students who said that their parents pushed them to succeed in school and paid attention to how they were doing, tended to have more concrete plans for college and



had higher levels of achievement.

"That's one thing our parents have stressed, they have made it, 'Well, if you don't go to-' they've just made it where they've showed me in growing up that education is something that is important in this world and this society, to function and live in an environment, a situation where you are happy and you're comfortable...I have that discipline embedded in me and I know what my parents expect of me."

Teachers concurred and found a high level of parental involvement and support for their students, due in part, to the extra care and effort it took to enroll their student in the school.

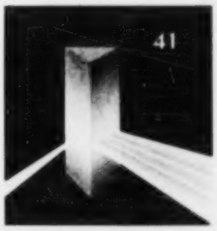
"And I think a part of that is, I guess – the achievement level depends a lot on the parent making the choice. You know? There's a choice to go to the – well, the parent could just say, 'I'm not gonna really do anything. And the school across the street is [Johnson], and that's where you're going.' As opposed to, 'Well, let's see what else is out there. Oh, there's this school called [Fannie Lou Hamer] High School. It's not a magnet school, they'll pretty much take anybody who really wants to go. Let's go there.' So they get the kid out of the neighborhood and go to a different school. So the fact that the parent cares to make the effort just shows a bit more parent involvement."

Most of the teachers at Fannie Lou Hamer were white, but the non-white students seemed unconcerned. Most felt that they were getting individual attention from their teachers, which was their primary concern. "We don't really care what color you are, as long as you're teaching us. You could be Barney, as long as you're teaching us." However, some teachers perceived a gap in communication with students. Feeling it was important for students to have teachers of their own race, the school was trying, with little success, to recruit teachers of color. One teacher said,

"There are so many different levels that I can't communicate with my students on. Because, whether I like it or not, when they look at me they see a white woman. And I couldn't have a lot of the experiences they've had, and vice versa. You know, just to have somebody that they can identify with, that understands them. I think it's very important to be understood, to feel that you're totally understood as a human being. But, I think especially as an adolescent it's really important. And I think it's important that we make this an issue.

Despite the lack of racial diversity, students expressed positive feelings about the school's racial makeup, while others said they wished the school were more diverse, including more white and Asian American students. Several students credited the school with correcting racially stereotyped beliefs.

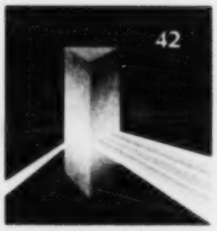
"Coming to this school, we get to know other cultures. We get to meet new people. Because I know a lot of people who have the mentality of just what they hear from other people or the TV – they assume that all people of that certain race are just like that. But if you come to this school you meet people who are good and are bad. So it's not all the same. So I see the benefit. You get to see firsthand what people are like."



Another student suggested that interactions with others reduced the negative stereotypes and better prepared students for life beyond high school.

"It's like, a lot of racism out there. And [at our school, you see that] all people are not like that. All whites are not like some of the whites that you have interacted with. And all Mexicans are not like some of the Mexicans that you've interacted with. And it's an opportunity for you to get to know – see a side of them that you've never seen before. Because when you go out into the workforce, you're not going to work with all African Americans. That's just not possible. Your boss might be white. Your boss might be Mexican. Your boss might be African-American. Your co-workers might be a different race than you. And it's like, you can't be racist [when] you don't even know them. So, it's a good opportunity for us."

Students who attended Hamer after being in completely homogeneous elementary and middle schools appreciated what diversity the school had. Even so, the school was undergoing adjustments that they felt were the growing pains of a new and alternative school. "Since we were the first class, it was kinda new and difficult to get to know other people from outside your own little group. It was kind of difficult. But after a while we started communicating with each other, started knowing each other better, I think."



The school principal was sensitive to the difficulties faced by students unaccustomed to interacting with people of other races.

"It's something that we have to be remembering every year, that these kids often come from a situation where they've never been to school with anybody who didn't look like them. And we have to realize what that means for them, in terms of the chance that they're going to take or not take to get to know somebody else who's really different."

Students did not experience racism or bias from teachers.

"And the way they teach us, it makes us comfortable...[they teach us] the way that we can learn – teach ourselves together in the classroom....The teachers are not one-sided or trying to give – let's say, they talk and they're used to talking in a certain way, and like, [they] give another person a clue [as to what they mean]....They teach us, like, equally."

Students believed they benefited from attending a small school where they developed relationships with teachers and received individual attention from them. Students said they felt that teachers cared about them, wanted them to succeed academically, and were helping them prepare for college.

"And this school is, like, small. And, you know, in the classes it's small so the teachers can help you out more than if you was in a big class. You couldn't, you know – a teacher couldn't give you all their attention, just – and they help you out a lot. You know, they don't wanna see you fail. They wanna see you succeed in life. And, it's pretty good, to me."

Much of the class work at Fannie Lou Hamer was done in small groups. It was the policy of most teachers to encourage interracial interactions by designating racially mixed groups for class projects. This practice appeared to be effective in helping to break down racial isolation. The small student population also seemed to facilitate interracial relationships, making it easier for students to get to know each other.

"I can say that this school is growing to know each other better. Because last year, it was like, a group of Mexicans would sit all the way in the back of the lunchroom. And it's like, mostly blacks would sit close to the front. You walk into the lunchroom now, today, and it's like, they all mixed up. Blacks talking to Mexicans, Mexicans talking to blacks."

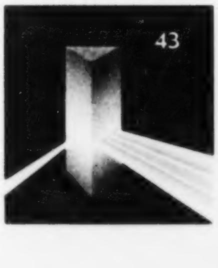
Some students characterized themselves and the student population in general, as "color blind." "Everybody sees each other the same." Other students called the school, "one big happy family." Students found a combination of separation and mixing of races among students in the lunchroom, during social times, and in classes with open seating. "It's segregated sometime, and sometimes it's not. You have your set at school there a'mixing and mingling. You have your set and it's, like, strictly to their race. So, it's a few here and there and everyplace." Another student said,

"Sometimes there are, like, groups of just blacks and Mexicans. Then, you'll see groups of both. It's like, when you walk in, you know, just different groups. Whoever are friends with the people. But, you won't walk into any lunch period in this school and see – one side Mexican and one side black. You won't see that here. Everybody integrates."

The separation that did occur was not perceived as racist or negative. Teachers agreed with the students' assessment of their interracial relationships. One teacher said he was not aware of any racial animosity among students, and that students worked in the classroom amiably. However, he added that they did separate themselves by race whenever given the opportunity and that the school attempted to address such issues.

"There's a lot of interaction that's really positive. You tend to see Latinos hanging out with Latinos or blacks hanging out with blacks, sometimes. But, you see the interaction also. But, you probably see more of the separation. And, I think that's because they know them and they've known them since grammar school. But when you get them into an interactive environment, there's – I don't see a lot of conflicts at all. In fact, [we] talk about it, and [students say], 'You guys are crazy.' They think that we bring it up and it's not a problem at all."

Some students disagreed with the celebration of Black History Month and Hispanic History Month, seeing it as divisive by "bringing racism up." One student expressed, "We don't have any racism here,



really. And then they come with, 'Well, lets do Mexican heritage and black heritage,'....No one cares if it's Black history, Mexican history, we just history, period. History of the United States, since that's what we are." These students believed some teachers tried too hard to be fair, "If there is something Hispanic going on, there has to be something black going on." To that, another student retorted, "Right. We don't really care, but I guess they think we do."

One student felt the treatment of African-American history and literature was superficial, indicating that the curricula were not multiculturally integrated despite some school effort. She said, "I was saying how every year we learn something about Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and so on and so on. But, it's like, they don't ever go – dig deeper. So people that they never heard of, or people that did things – but it's like, they're not really recognized for that." Students demonstrated a remarkable understanding of and sensitivity to their curricula.

For the most part, however, students felt the curricula promoted multiculturalism. They were exposed to materials that had broad racial representation. Students perceived and appreciated that most teachers wove multiculturalism throughout their learning, rather than it being limited to Hispanic or Black History Month.

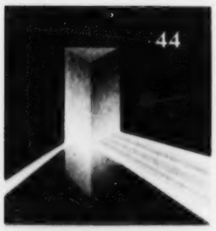
"And that's the only reason why [people] learn [about Martin Luther King, Jr.], is because it's February and it's Black History Month....But, like here, it's like, we talk about it all through the year. Is no difference if it's February or not, we're still gonna talk about us – our history."

Another student said,

"Just the basic curriculum that some of the teachers teach [is multicultural]. The way they teach us – the way they present information. Like, we've been learning about immigrants. We've been learning about the Puritans. We've been learning about a whole – we've been consuming a whole lot of information about different cultures, different groups, different lifestyles. And it's something that they're trying to familiarize us with. Because when we get out in the real world, something we're gonna have to deal with, something that we're gonna have to – we're gonna have to communicate with people from different walks of life....So they're preparing us now, for when we graduate and go to college, or wherever we decide to go."

Students differed in their opinions regarding the importance of diversity in their reading material, although most found it positive. Some felt that the degree of interest a book held was more important than the diversity of its content or author. Others enjoyed learning about various cultures, not because they felt it was important but because it was interesting. "But when you start learning about it, you want to learn more. Because some things that other heritages do, it's interesting." However, still others thought diverse reading material was very important because, "if you're [reading a book from your own culture] you kind of get the feeling that, 'Oh, yeah.' But if other people of other races read that book they kind of get the feel of what you're about, or kind of an idea where you're coming from."

Fannie Lou Hamer students faced obstacles to high academic achievement and



future prospects despite their unique school and teacher efforts to provide them with opportunities. Parental involvement in the process of applying to Fannie Lou Hamer may indicate higher levels of motivation for academic success among students and their families. Teachers practiced teaching strategies that were beneficial to all students, provided special programming, and worked to develop positive relationships with and among students. The small school and class size was noted by staff and students to be a great benefit of the school. The school had implemented many efforts recommended by educational researchers, which elevated student satisfaction and combated some of the school's disadvantages.

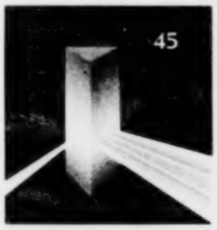
However, students and teachers perceived a number of roadblocks to success, including poor parental support for daily tasks and poor early schooling. The school was highly segregated, even compared with Chicago's predominantly African-American and Latino student population. Students scored slightly better than the district which had a smaller minority population, suggesting that the policies and practices of the school were having a positive impact on academic achievement. General student satisfaction demonstrates that the school created benefits beyond academics, such as positive interracial experiences. The school affirmatively addressed racial issues by having fairly rich curricula. Most students found the experience very valuable, expressed appreciation for the opportunity to learn about themselves and others, and noted little racial tension within the school. However, Fannie Lou Hamer students scored markedly worse than their desegregated state counterparts, suggesting that the segregated nature of the school again had a negative impact significant enough to counter its positive characteristics.

2. Paulo Freire High School Chicago, Illinois

Paulo Freire High School lies on the desegregated end of the spectrum. Although only about one-quarter of the students were white, considering the racial composition of the larger area and the school's low percentage of impoverished students, Freire lies closer to the desegregated end of the spectrum. During 1999, almost half of Freire students were African-American (43.8 percent) and nearly one quarter (22.9 percent) were white. The remaining one-third of students were Asian American, Hispanic, and Native American (16.6 percent, 16.1 percent, and 0.5 percent respectively). The relatively low number of low-income students (35.5 percent for the school and 84.5 percent for the district and 36.1 percent for the state) was likely related to the selective admissions requirement and helped to produce the high academic achievement among students.

All students were required to take an admissions test to obtain entrance into Chicago's most academically prestigious public high school. Freire had 99 percent of 10th-grade students meet or exceed the Illinois Standards Achievement Tests (ISAT) in reading, along with 93 percent in math, and 93 percent in writing. Whereas, the district saw only 47 percent of students meet or exceed ISAT in reading, 24 percent in math, and 41 percent in writing and the state experienced 70 percent in reading, 52 percent in math, and 66 percent in writing.[10]

The school's African-American principal was acutely aware of Paulo Freire's status as a leader among Chicago schools and of the responsibilities that entailed.



"I am an African-American principal in a school that is highly visible – in the fishbowl all of the time. And I have to exude [a racially integrated] mindset, or this school would not be [as] successful as it has been. And we'd have a problem because, I have some very vocal parents, very vocal students. And if they ever sensed that I was showing favoritism or prejudice towards one group – we'd have a problem."

Students at Paulo Freire planned to attend and were well prepared for college. Several students expressed the belief that they and their classmates, regardless of race were the "cream of the crop." They felt that the high academic achievement of students admitted to their school gave them something in common and made it easier for them to see each other as equals. One student said, "The people that get in [to Paulo Freire], you don't view them as a separate race, but instead you view them as your peers, because they're at an equal level with you." Such feelings by some students suggest elements of Allport's contact theory of integration discussed earlier, specifically, that students are interacting with one another on a level of equal status.

Some students felt that the restrictive admissions policy, rather than the quality education they received, made Paulo Freire a superior college preparatory school. "The only way to have an excellent college preparatory class or school is to have the students that are most motivated to go to college, or most motivated to work with the program." Others credited student success to concern and attentiveness of teachers, strict discipline, and challenging curricula. As one student said, "I like the way this school concentrates on learning. And the teachers – they're really good teachers, actually. And the students really care about what they learn. Not only socializing, like in different schools." Most students said that parents placed a high value on education and kept a close eye on their children's progress in school.

While sometimes envious of their neighborhood friends' lack of homework and school pressures, students said they felt sorry for those who attended less rigorous schools. A student said of her friends in another school, "If the school doesn't even take their education seriously, they're not either." One student who attended a predominantly Latino neighborhood elementary school before coming to Paulo Freire, said of his elementary school friends,

"We're in totally different worlds. My world is, I come to school, like, trying to make my grades, go to college. Their world is, like, hanging out on the street corners. Like, just screwing around. Like, not taking school seriously, not really worrying about where they're going to go."

Another student felt Paulo Freire did a better job than other schools of preparing students for college.

"Some people [will go to] another high school for four years and still won't be ready for college. So, I think it's just this atmosphere. It's this school. It's the way they keep pushing us, keep preparing us and telling us, 'If you're going to go to college, this is what you're going to do. So, work hard and work hard and work hard.'"

The students and teachers at Paulo Freire spoke highly of each other. A teacher said that all of her students participated fully and enthusiastically in classroom discussions. One student said, "Many of the teachers here realize, more than anywhere else I've gone, that they're being hired to teach me. Not hired to teach a lesson, but hired to make sure that I learn the material of the class." Another student described the school as a "nurturing environment." Students of all races generally felt that the teachers were available to them and treated them fairly. However, a few students said they thought certain teachers responded more positively to students of their own race. "...there was, like, three or four people that were not black. And it was horrible, because he just, like, fixated upon them." Another student said,

> ***"I have two [teachers]...I know it is [a racial thing]...'cause, like I say, he doesn't call on me. But he's, like, picking all the other students and they're like, ['He's good.'] [And I say], 'Yeah, good for you, good for you.' And then one of the black students, like, tries to answer the same question and he's like, 'Well, we've gotten that covered already.' And then I'm trying to answer the question – he doesn't even pick on me, 'cause, I guess, they all think I'm some stoner, or something. It's just – I don't like being a part of it."***

Students spoke highly of the school's racial diversity. Many students cited diversity as one of the most positive aspects of the school. Students described themselves as more "cultured" and open-minded than their friends who attended segregated schools. "You get to learn a lot from other people. You know where they came from or how they came to be. So, you get to learn a lot and everything is not narrow-minded. It's broad." Another said, "I think I learn about other cultures just by going to this school." One student felt the school's diversity helped students by, "Not being prejudiced against anybody, because you know that they're all the same."

Students believed that attending a racially diverse school helped them develop perceptions of people that were based on fewer stereotypes than commonly found elsewhere. "You might have thought something all your life about somebody and when you get to know them, it will totally change your whole opinion." Another student said,

> ***"When I was going to my old school I knew everything about being Puerto Rican and Mexican, but all I had was, like, the stereotypical opinions of, like, blacks, Chinese, Asians – in general, other minorities. And then you come here, and you realize that those are just stereotypes, they're not facts."***

Students, teachers, and administrators agreed that relationships in the school were positive and there was no serious racial strife. However, most said that the school's racial integration was superficial. "I would say, they say they interact more than they really do." Most found cordial interaction in the classrooms but segregation by race outside of class. "When you see people on their lunch periods and when they're walking around in the hallways and stuff, that's just the way it is. And in gym classes and anytime that they have the opportunity to segregate themselves, they usually do." One student said of her classmates,

> ***"We have a lot of different ethnic backgrounds at the school. But as far as – if you go into the lunchrooms***

you'll see it's very segregated. You'll see the blacks with the blacks, the Hispanics with the Hispanics, the whites with the whites. If you go into the classroom and the teacher doesn't assign seats, it'll also be segregated."

Another student concurred,

"This is the most segregated but integrated school. We have lots and lots of different races. [In some schools] it would be weird if, like, a black girl and a white girl were walking down a hallway talking to each other. But here, it's not that weird. But, I mean, even though we interact together, you won't really see many – they'll talk to you in the hall, but once you get outside it's like they'll go off to their [clique]."

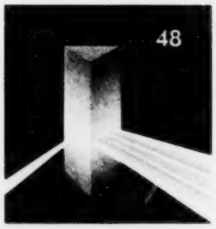
It is not clear that the school addressed this issue. One group of students stated that, with the exception of the teachers' table, theirs was the only racially integrated table in the lunchroom. "They try to diversify everything, but the truth of the matter is, it's never going to be as diverse as we want it to be. There'll always be cliques and social groups." Students accepted the segregation as natural and did not attribute it to racism or negative feelings. Many agreed that, "You tend to relate to people your own race better than others." Another student said, "It's not that [students are] mean to each other by purposely saying, 'I'm not going to go and hang out with those people because they are this nationality or that.' It's just that those are the people that you're drawn to. That's just how it ends up." Even students who had school friends of other races said that outside of school, their friends were generally from their neighborhoods and those friends tended to be racially homogenous.

One factor found to mitigate self-segregation was early experiences with diversity. Students who attended racially mixed elementary and middle schools credited those early experiences with helping them feel comfortable with interracial relationships. "If you go to a mixed school from the beginning – the younger you are, the less you look at the colors of skin." Another student said, "you can't really substitute anything for first-hand experience with people who are different from you – and even more important than [high school diversity] is the diverse elementary school experience." In contrast, students who attended homogeneous elementary and middle schools tended to perpetuate that experience of limited diversity by choosing friends in high school who were similar to their friends in elementary school.

An African-American student who attended a homogeneous elementary school found that along with diversity and opportunity at Paulo Freire came other benefits. She found improved discipline and fewer fights. She also felt her English usage had improved. Her former classmates and neighborhood friends recognized changes in her.

"So, I know a lot of rough people. Like, when I come home, you know, I'm kind of different now. But I used to be rough like that, too. But now I'm just, kind of, calmed down. And they's like, 'Ooh, you changed so much, hanging out with those white people.' I'm like, 'What? They didn't change me.' It's just that this is a better environment than where I live."

Because of the size of the student body, small group activities, either in classes or in extracurricular activities, were particu-



larly important as a means for students to get acquainted with new people. Several students mentioned that their most significant and positive interactions with those of other races were in clubs or organizations in which smaller groups of students interacted. Two students cited the ROTC program as racially diverse and friendly. "In ROTC, everyone's there and it's cool." Another student agreed, "[there's] no prejudice – and we all hang out together."

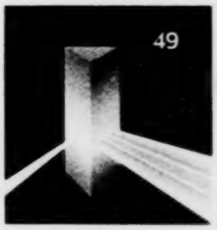
Despite broad student appreciation for the school's diversity, they did not agree on the importance of multicultural curricula. Some said they enjoyed learning about diverse cultures, and in fact, diversity of reading materials in English classes contributed to their enthusiasm for reading. However, other students were not interested in studying their own culture, while still others lacked interest in the cultures of others. "I would find it boring – anything on my heritage 'cause it's all the same." This ambivalence may in part be due to the way students experience multiculturalism – as an optional add-on rather than integrated into their daily learning.

Several students were critical of the school's English and history curricula, finding they lacked integration. A student complained that the histories of different races and cultures were treated separately, with little recognition of their interconnectedness. He suggested that, rather than having a week of Latino history and a week of Asian-American history, the teachers should "put it all together. It'd be better to go just by time and see who was doing what at this time. Like, 1900, 1910. Like, see what was up then, instead of having it so separate, so cut and dried, one week, one week, one week." Another student concurred, "It's hard to distinguish between history of black people and history of history…[they should] just incorporate it all."

One student considered the school one of the best places to be for racial diversity. However, he felt the school did not actively promote diversity in its curricula and expressed an understanding of the need for a truly integrated school environment rather than ending efforts at desegregation. Students felt that the teachers and administration were not doing enough to address these issues. "Hmmm, I don't know. I wanna say yes, but I can't think of anything specific that would – but it definitely doesn't promote segregation, seemingly. But, no. I don't think I ever heard anybody in authority talk about multiculturalism."

Despite their academic success, students sensed a lack of breadth in their education. They expressed a strong desire to receive a truly integrated educational experience. Students demonstrated a remarkable understanding of the components of an integrated school, and that many of those components were lacking in their school. Despite this, teachers and administrators felt they were providing students with multicultural curricula in an integrated school setting. The principal considered Paulo Freire a success story under Chicago's magnet school based desegregation plan. "Symbolic of really what [schools] should be."

However, when she referred to her "integrated" school, she was referring to the numeric desegregation of the school and the advantages for students attending school with people of varied races and ethnicities. Administrators and teachers viewed the curricula as multicultural, citing the desegregation of the student body and the special add-on classes such as African-American history. These classes were not required, therefore only students who were interested took them. Only one class was offered at a time which created a "first come, first served" situation and also



precluded students with full schedules from taking the classes. These special classes were the primary sources for materials produced by or about people of color. The core classes, including English and history remained predominantly Euro-centric. Teachers and administrators demonstrated a lack of understanding regarding integrated multicultural curricula and integrated school settings.

C. St. Paul Schools Context

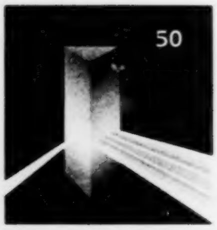
Minneapolis and St. Paul are referred to as the "Twin Cities." While possessing different characteristics, together they represent a reasonable urban core. In setting the context for St. Paul, the report relies on information about Minneapolis to the extent it seems plausible.

St. Paul is unique in its close proximity to Minneapolis; and the two constitute the largest urban area in Minnesota. While the legal history of desegregation in the Twin Cities began in the Minneapolis Public Schools, it is ultimately inextricably bound to the changes in St. Paul. Therefore, Minneapolis Public Schools' history of desegregation will be examined initially. From this initial foray into court-ordered desegregation in the early 1970s, both St. Paul and Minneapolis shaped their desegregation policies out of the experience of the other district, the influence of the courts, and the directives issued by the State Board of Education.

To understand the context in which the desegregation of Minneapolis schools was developed through the courts, it is necessary to know that, in the early 1970s, the small number of students of color and the larger body of whites attended racially unbalanced schools. In the 1971-1972 school year, there were 65,201 students in the Minneapolis School District. Of those students, 55,735 were white, 6,351 black, 2,225 American Indian and 890 defined as other ethnic groups. In that year, 55 percent of black elementary school children attended schools that were over 30 percent black, while 74 percent of white children attended schools with black enrollments of less than 5 percent. At the junior high level, 68 percent of minority students attended schools with over 30 percent minority; 63 percent of white students attended schools with less than 5 percent minority students. Lincoln Junior High was over 72 percent minority; Southwest Junior High had only five minority students. Two Minneapolis high schools had minority enrollments over 30 percent minority, while four had populations of less than 4 percent minority.

In 1972, parents of children attending Minneapolis schools brought a class action suit alleging that the school district maintained unconstitutionally segregated schools.[101] The plaintiffs alleged that the neighborhood school system used by the district had been created in a city known to have intentional and widespread discrimination in housing, and that the probable and foreseeable result was segregated schools. The federal district court found a pattern of segregative decisions. The court noted that in 1968, in a predominantly black neighborhood, the district built Bethune Elementary School with a student capacity of 900 instead of the typical 500-600 usually set by the district. The result was that black children were concentrated at Bethune.

In addition, the court found that the district added classrooms to black elementary schools rather than transferring black children to available white schools. The court identified that Washburn High School, which was 97 percent white, was over-



enrolled by 600 students while adjacent Central High School, which was 23 percent black, was running at 600 below capacity, yet children were not being transferred. There was also testimony from district administrators that the district allowed special transfers more frequently when race was a factor in the transfer request. The court also found that the district had never employed black teachers in 11 Minneapolis elementary schools; seven other schools had employed only one black teacher throughout their histories and four others had employed only two black teachers. Of all black teachers, 61 percent were located at schools with over 15 percent black enrollment. Finally, the court found that residential segregation in Minneapolis was the product of discrimination, and that the Minneapolis School District was aware of discriminatory practices of the Board of Realtors.

Based on these findings, the court determined that the Minneapolis School District consistently drew lines to increase or maintain segregation. The court ordered the board to implement a plan to desegregate students and staff/faculty. The desegregation order required that each school have a limit of 35 percent minority students.

Prior to the state's adoption of regulations regarding desegregation in 1973, the St. Paul School Board issued a statement on its position:

> ***The Board recognizes the evidence that concentration of racial groupings in schools from whatever causes is one of the factors which inhibits the educational development of the children involved, and that the existence of de facto segregation is inconsistent with the democratic principle of equality of educational opportunity. The Board of Education in accepting its share of responsibility will initiate, support and implement practical and feasible ways of eliminating de facto segregation in the schools of St. Paul.***[102]

Two years prior and then subsequent to the adoption in 1973 of the statewide, mandatory policy on desegregation, the St. Paul Schools instituted numerous measures to effectuate desegregation, which at that time meant having less than 50 percent minority enrollment at any school. Pairing, first used experimentally by St. Paul in 1971, was one measure used for this purpose. Pairing involved combining entire elementary school populations, then dividing the students to create two different schools: one for the lower elementary grades, the other for the higher. New buildings, modified curricula to attract a diverse student population, the creation of open and fundamental-type schools, and the formation of specialized learning centers were other approaches to non-mandatory desegregation during this period.

The learning centers, unique to St. Paul, were sites of specialized education that purported to desegregate students by mingling them for several hours a week for this purpose off-site: the students traveled to the learning centers within the school day.[103] They were designed in response to the filing of a lawsuit against the district by the St. Paul Commission on Human Rights, and were the fruit of a series of open forums held throughout 1970-71, facilitated by Superintendent Dr. George Young.[104]

Within clusters of six or seven schools, students were given the option of voluntarily choosing and attending a specialized learning center focused on the environment, foreign language, social environ-

ment, career exploration, or culture and heritage. The culture and heritage learning centers were: the Black Culture Resource Center; the American Indian Learning-Resource Center; and the Mexican-American Cultural Resource Center. While participation was voluntary, the vast majority of students chose to attend a specialized learning center. According to the district, at least two of the clusters had 95 percent and 98 percent participation, respectively, between 1971 and 1974.[105] By 1979, the learning centers were explicitly not endorsed by the State Board of Education, which mandated that the home schools themselves must be desegregated. Inter-district transfers began to gain popularity during this period as an alternative to learning centers and as a means to desegregate in accordance with the state directive.[106]

Issues not addressed at this time by the policies and measures adopted in St. Paul to comply with the state desegregation regulations included: staffing patterns regarding racial composition of schools; quality of education as a priority alongside desegregation; and a push for greater parental school choice.[107]

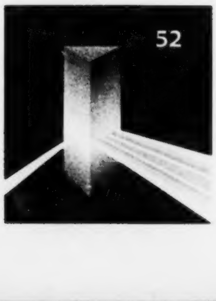
In Minneapolis, the desegregation plan developed out of litigation in the early 1970s. In 1978, the Minneapolis School District brought a motion to terminate the court's jurisdiction. The court held that full implementation had not yet occurred because integration of the American Indian student population had not been incorporated into the plan.[108] The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld this decision.[109] The Supreme Court chose not to review the case.[110] The Minneapolis School District remained under court jurisdiction until 1983.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the St. Paul Schools began a process of reforming the curricula to conform to the goal of integration. The Program for Educational Opportunity stepped into the picture in 1979 and reviewed the curricula for multicultural content. In 1984, a task force was formed with the purpose of developing more multicultural curricula as well as drafting a timeline for implementation of the changes, with supportive consultation from the Program for Educational Opportunity. Multicultural curricula gained greater emphasis in the newly developing magnet schools.[111]

Reflective of the specialized, voluntary learning centers available in the cluster system of the 1970s, magnet schools in St. Paul were established to draw a diverse population of students with an interest in a discrete subject area. The first six of these schools were established in 1984 and opened in September 1985. All served first the attendance-area students and then those enrolled citywide, as racial balance or building capacity allowed. By 1991, St. Paul had 40 magnet schools and these schools had become the primary mechanism for desegregation.[112]

By the late 1980s, St. Paul school officials recognizrd that school districts themselves within the metro region had become racially identifiable, which undermined the goal of integration within a metropolitan context.

Also, the cost of administering desegregation programs had become too great a burden on the district. In response to these concerns, but primarily to the financial concerns, then-superintendent of St. Paul Schools, David Bennett, proposed a plan that included: increased but voluntary cooperation among metropolitan school districts; creation of a scholarship program; recruitment of teachers of color; state sponsorship of professional development emphasizing multiculturalism and gender



equity; the development of six state-sponsored magnet schools – three in St. Paul and three located in the suburbs; and policy-making to address the nexus between desegregation and housing integration.[113]

Following this proposal, the state government enacted measures focusing primarily on the metropolitan issue, including teacher and student exchanges within the area, legislation for a common school calendar, adoption of a plan for curricular reform, funding for interdistrict transfers, and funding for the recruitment of teachers of color.[114] But the measures adopted by the state fell far short of those requested by the superintendent of the St. Paul schools.

Subsequent litigation in Minnesota addressed the funding of schools. In 1988, parents of children in Minnesota schools brought an action alleging that the state financing system failed to establish "a general and uniform system of public schools" and failed to "secure a thorough and efficient system of public schools throughout the state." Both items were requirements of the State Constitution of Minnesota. The plaintiffs alleged that the financing system of the state created serious disparities in funding between districts. In 1989, 24 higher tax base school districts were allowed to intervene as defendants in the case. The district court held that, although education was a fundamental right under the state constitution, the legislature had made efforts to equalize funding in public education to all extents possible and thus any disparities that existed did not violate the state constitution.[115]

In the mid-1990s, the NAACP brought a new lawsuit against the state of Minnesota, this time asserting that the Minneapolis schools were illegally segregated under the state constitution. The NAACP also sued the Metropolitan Council, an administrative agency that coordinates planning and development in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, and 21 different state officials and state entities. The NAACP alleged that because the Minneapolis schools had disproportionate numbers of poor and minority students, students were denied their fundamental right to receive an adequate education under the state constitution. They asserted that the Metropolitan Council was liable for making decisions that directly affected racial and economic segregation in Minneapolis, and that, with their knowledge, in turn affected school segregation. The Metropolitan Council succeeded in changing the venue of the lawsuit to federal court. The federal court dismissed the charges against the Metropolitan Council, finding the action void by res judicata (meaning that an earlier decision by the court on this matter had resolved the issue and a new suit on the same issue could not be brought).[116]

An earlier suit had been brought against the council asserting that it had failed to approve funding for low income housing in the suburbs and had made decisions that accelerated the "polarization of the metro area by income and race." The more recent suit's decision was appealed to the Supreme Court, which remanded the case for further consideration. However, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals again held that the claims against the Metropolitan Council should properly be heard in federal court.[117] A second request for hearing by the Supreme Court was denied.[118] The allegations against the other state entities remain, and the case is pending.[119]

Shortly after the Minneapolis suit was filed, the St. Paul school board filed suit against the state. The suit charged that the state segregated the students by racial and socioeconomic status. The suit was eventually voluntarily dismissed.

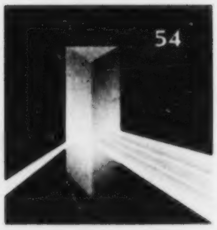
The mid-1990s saw the development of multiple new desegregation rules proposed by the state Department of Children, Families, and Learning. This rule underwent numerous revisions, responsive to the concerns of policy-makers, education stakeholders, and the public. The 1993 proposed rule was harshly criticized for its lack of implementation and enforcement mechanisms; the stated goals of the rule were to promote integration and diversity, but these lofty goals weren't buttressed by any provision of steps that districts should take to achieve them. As Matthew Little, then-recently retired president of the Minnesota NAACP stated: "The revised policy declares 'Diversity is the foundation of our society' . . . yet the new draft proposal does nothing to implement the thesis of that policy."[2]

In 1999, the state adopted a voluntary desegregation rule that is cognizant only of intentional segregation, not de facto segregation, or segregation resulting from demographic shifts. The adoption of the voluntary rule can be interpreted in part as responsive to community sentiment; 55 percent of metropolitan residents were found more likely to oppose a mandatory desegregation plan over a voluntary desegregation plan in 1995. Subsequent to the adoption of this rule, which has disappointed many participants in the rule drafting process because of its multiple weaknesses, St. Paul has accessed funding to establish a new magnet school that draws students from surrounding suburban districts, including nearby Roseville and the North St. Paul-Maplewood-Oakdale districts.

St. Paul schools have, during this period, maintained voluntary desegregation with open enrollment that emphasizes choice for parents and students. "We've been more successful than most districts at maintaining an integrated atmosphere, and we've done it through school choice, not forced busing," said Steve Schellenberg, Assistant Director, Student Evaluation and Information Services. Despite this claim of success, little progress has been made with respect to achievement. In 1995, more than half of all minority students in grades 2 to 8 received below-average scores on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests, Seventh Edition (MAT7). About one in four white students received below-average scores.[2]

This emphasis on choice is also designed to increase parental involvement, and therefore higher student achievement. St. Paul currently offers the choice of neighborhood, magnet, tri-district, interdistrict, and alternative learning schools. Included in the list of questions asked prior to the choosing a school for the student, a parent is asked whether "the school nurture(s) and enhance(s) cultural diversity." St. Paul assigns students to schools "based on a variety of factors, including parental choice, state-required racial balance in the schools, transportation, space availability, and district guidelines." Transfers are permitted, both outside the neighborhood at the elementary school level and outside the district at the secondary level, if the necessary racial balance is maintained.

Most recently, St. Paul has experimented with several initiatives to further diversify the student population. One initiative, the Teachers of Color Urban Collaborative, funded with the support of private grants, is built around the goal of increasing the percentage of teachers of color to more closely reflect the student racial composition in the district. At the time of the program's inception in 1997, 60 percent of St. Paul students were students of color, while only 10 percent of their teachers were non-white. To remedy this, the program focuses on recruitment, preparation of teachers of color, support, and retention. It involves a partnership with local universities, and provides support for students of color within the district interested in becoming



teachers.

A second initiative that has recently been developed, the Five-District Integration Partnership, is a summer enrichment program built around the subject areas of history, art, and the environment. The program links stakeholders in the St. Paul schools with surrounding districts. According to the program literature, the voluntary partnership is "working to bring together students, parents, and teachers across racial, cultural, socioeconomic, geographic, and district boundaries."

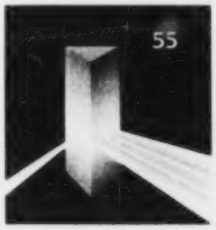
1. Oscar Romero High School St. Paul, Minnesota

Oscar Romero High School is a racially and ethnically diverse school. Although whites were only slightly over 30 percent of the student population in 1998-99, they were the largest single group in the school. Based simply on racial composition, Oscar Romero would be considered desegregated. However, the number of minority students was very high given the demographics of the Twin Cities area. Additionally, the number of students eligible for free or reduced lunches (67.6 percent) was much higher than the regional average. Most notably, tracking within the school resulted in a very segregated school population. Oscar Romero is a prime example of the difficulty in classifying schools along the continuum of segregated to integrated. When considering Oscar Romero's complexity of characteristics representing both segregated and desegregated aspects, we placed it toward the desegregated end of the spectrum, keeping in mind its segregated tendencies.

Oscar Romero had a student population of 1,029 students during the 1998-1999 school year. Just over one-third of students were white (31.8 percent), with 23.7 percent Asian American students, 23.6 percent Hispanic students, 18.9 percent African-American students, and 2.0 percent Native American students. Students eligible for free or reduced lunches totaled 67.6 percent, and 36.6 percent were considered Limited English Proficient. In January of 1999, Romero had 49 percent of students score at or above average on the Grade 10 Basic Skills test in writing.[12]

Oscar Romero students planned to attend college but were worried about the cost. A high-ranking student wanted to go to a local university, but said she might go to a community college because it was more affordable. "I was kinda looking at, maybe, St. Thomas but I'm not looking at a – I need money…But my parents would be fine if I went to community college too." Most students planned to work while attending college or technical school. Although most students planned to attend college after graduating, several had not yet applied and most did not seem to have knowledge regarding college opportunities or the benefits they would gain from continuing their education. The primary motivation for attending college was to make money to buy nice things, or for many, to avoid the financial struggles their parents faced. "By completing high school and [college]…[t]hat's the only way I'm gonna get money to go to the places I want. That's probably what motivates me."

The Junior ROTC (JROTC) officer training course sergeant said that JROTC cadets were more likely to go on to college than any other group at the school. He thought it was because the program taught students discipline and self-respect and gave them a sense of pride. He also pointed out that many people thought JROTC taught a military curriculum. Although they used a



military model of instruction, the content of the course related to such things as citizenship, leadership, and community service. The racial makeup of the program was approximated. "Probably the largest ethnic group of students who take this program are Hispanic. Followed by, in pretty much equal numbers, Asian Americans and Caucasians. And African-American students are [the] lowest percentage representative-wise." Of the benefits JROTC had to offer students, the sergeant said,

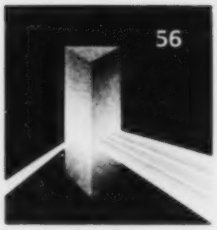
> *"I would tell them that once a student finishes JROTC they are better prepared to make decisions, they have a better idea of what the decision-making process is all about, and what constitutes a good decision versus a bad decision. I would say also, that students who tend to be a little quieter, reserved, introverted, by the time they finish the program, they are no longer quiet and introverted. Because they need to be bold, [but] not in the sense of powerful. When there's a job to be done, they need to just step to the front and do it and not wait for somebody else to do it, or not necessarily wait for instructions on how to do it, but take initiative.*
>
> *"I would also tell parents that we believe that the JROTC cadets have a better sense of [government], what the function of each one of the branches is built on and how those people are put into office and how Supreme Court judges are appointed and why, what sort of regulations are put on them, what are the limitations put on the governor, president, the state representative. I would also tell them that they have a better sense of what it means to be involved, to be participating citizens. We believe the JROTC [students] are more inclined – once they turn 18, are more inclined to go to the polls and vote, and are more inclined to pick up the newspaper, read what the issues are of the candidates, where do the candidates stand on the issues."*

Students appreciated the racial diversity at Oscar Romero. In fact, they commonly found racial diversity to be the most positive aspect of the school. Some experienced positive interracial relationships and found that students regularly interacted with other races, while other students saw racism and segregation.

Those who experienced positive relationships thought they led to an overall feeling of good will. "The ease in which the students make friends. It doesn't matter if you're black, or white, or yellow, or red." Another student said,

> *"Yeah, It's pretty cool cause, like, in the hallways you see everybody saying, 'Hi' to each other, walking, talking, you know, 'cause, like, every other period I'm walking with a different person and it's, like, from an ethnic background, different ethnic background, or the same. I'm walking with a different person every time I go to, like, a period or something."*

Oscar Romero had a high special education and handicapped student population. Most felt the other students were accepting of them. As they did with racial differences, students seemed to take such differences in stride, viewing them as normal, rather than aberrant. Teachers were most impressed with students' attitudes toward and acceptance of diversity. One teacher



described the atmosphere, due to both students and staff, as a "little Utopia." In fact, teachers viewed student attitudes and behavior as strikingly better than that of adults.

"People complain about the public education in the city, but the one thing it teaches you is reality. And how to deal with racism. And that's what you learn as a student down here. And even more so, the kids down here are exposed to – because we're a mecca for handicapped students, special ed., so they're exposed to a variety of kids in different situations. And they treat them as individuals."

Another teacher said

"When we had – when the new school opened and we were the first school in St. Paul to be completely handicapped accessible as it was defined then. [The media] came and said, 'Oh.' And they asked our students, 'Well, what's it like having somebody rolling around in a wheelchair?' or something. And the very interesting thing that happened in almost every incident was the kids would just say, 'What do you mean?'"

Although students felt that race did not limit student interactions in class and during other structured school activities, there was discrepancy regarding interactions during free time at school. Some students found heterogeneity during informal times throughout the school. One student commented about the lunchroom, "Yeah, everybody just blends in together. It really don't matter what race you are or anything...Just, I mean, there'll be some people who sit with their friends, and they could be all black, or Mexican, or whatever. But most of the lunchroom is mixed."

Other students had a different perspective, finding noticeable racial segregation in the cafeteria and during other informal times.

"I think there's very little interaction cause it's a lot of groups of people that just hang around each other, you know. If you go – like, what I see – if I go to a class that I know other people, no matter what race they are, I associate with them. But when I go outside of the classroom, in the hall, then lunch, you see a group of people sitting together. Like, black people here, white people – that's what I've seen."

To that comment, another student added, "It's like the neighborhoods that you're from."

Consistently mentioned was a failure among students to pursue interracial friendships outside of school. Close friends tended to be of the same race. Despite acknowledging racial divisions in other people's friendships, each interviewee claimed that his or her group of friends was racially mixed. However, during more in-depth conversations, most admitted that their closest friends were of their own race. Students cited shared experiences and comfort level as the primary reasons for this type of segregation. "...there's always that thing right there between people of the same race. I don't know, I can't feel it with other people who aren't Asian.

Some students experienced not only segregation but also racist comments and clashes. "Sometimes their friends [will] make a comment to you. Maybe [they'll] make it directly because of your race or maybe because they just want to say something. All depends on how you could take it to be and it would become a racist war – [they] personally attack you." Another said,

"A little prejudice here and there....Like, you know...they say this, or whatever – it's just because, like, we – they, don't know us as the Hmong, usually. And they're like, 'Are you Chinese?' or something like that. And you're like, 'I'm Hmong.' And they're, like, making fun of my language and stuff."

Racial conflicts among gangs within the school were noted as well. Such experiences were laughed off or explained away by some students. For others, they were troubling and established an atmosphere of tension and division.

One of the major failures noted at Oscar Romero was the racially segregated classes. White students tended to be in higher level classes. "That system, it's really biased....There's a lot of difference. The blacks, and the Mexicans, and the Asians are primarily in the lower levels. The white people, girls, are in the high." As one student expressed it, labeling the higher courses as AP or CP sent a message to students who were not in those courses that they would not be prepared for college, thereby discouraging them from trying. These experiences confirm the problems related to tracking students within schools.

Students were divided regarding their feelings toward teachers. Most liked their teachers, but others had negative encounters. None, however, believed the teachers to be racist. "He's just like that. I just ain't never got along with him. I don't know, I mean, I ain't gonna jump and say he's a racist." Often, students having negative interactions with teachers seemed to be "targeted" by a teacher, either because of a label they carried or personal differences.

"Some of the teachers are real hard to get along with...They always come at you the wrong way and they think they can yell at you. But you can't say nothing back, you know? They think they're better than you 'cause they're teaching. Some teachers are cool, they won't say nothing. They treat you like you're a regular person. And other teachers, they'll treat you like you're an idiot...."

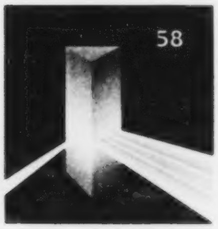
It was common for students to cite "down-to-earth" teachers who were easy to talk with. More strict teachers were less approachable. "It's like, 'I don't want to talk to you no more.'"

More students than not found teachers open and interested in them. The following student speaks well for those having positive experiences with teachers.

"I like that the teachers are really easy to talk to. When you need them you can just go and, like, just have a big old conversation with some of the teachers. It's really fun. And that there's a lot of different backgrounds [among teachers] because you learn a lot from that. And that there's a lot of the same backgrounds, like Mexican Americans, here so that's cool."

Although there were not many African-American teachers, most students felt that the staff was more diverse than at other schools, having many Hispanic teachers.

Students felt that kids who were more successful took school seriously and were motivated. Successful students were also seen as having parents who encouraged



them and wanted them to do well. Students often wanted to please their parents by having a better life than they did.

"There are some people, like, their parents don't really care about their education and stuff. And I think that's straight up wrong because my mom, she's, just like, so – she's like, 'If you guys want to be somebody when you grow up, go to school.' And stuff like that. And she struggled, like. She was like, 'I didn't finish high school, or whatever, and see where I am. I am a hard – I have to work really, really hard for my money and stuff. And you never know. You guys can go to college – finish high school, go to college, and just be sitting in an office and getting paid...Make sure you do your work, kid.'"

It was commonly thought that students who did poorly in school received little support from their families or had teachers who did not seem to care about students' achievement. Families that emphasized things other than school, and friends who did not encourage hard work had a detrimental impact on school performance and motivation. "I'm a bad student now. I used to be really good when I first got here, but the more you get friends and you hang out more, you just start slacking and you don't do your work. You clown in the classroom and stuff."

Students who felt that their parents were unable to be active in school or spend time monitoring performance often lost self-motivation. "She used to come down on me [after conferences] and all this. She stopped doing that and I stopped caring – she did, too." In addition to lack of support, students cited after-school jobs as a negative influence on scholastic achievement. Many students worked after school and either had to study during the school day or after leaving work at night. Some students were more focused on making money than they were on school. Regarding students who missed a high number of school days, a teacher said,

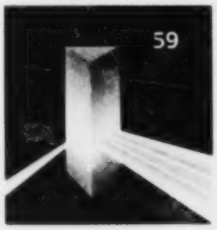
"It's just – they don't get it. But – and they'll come back with, 'I'm never late at McDonald's. I mean, I'm always at McDonald's.' And the reward there is the paycheck. And I tell them the reward here is a diploma, which is a lot more valuable than the reward out there. Because that six dollars is gonna be six dollars, it's gonna stay six dollars."

Most of the students came from low-income families. Their families depended on them to make a financial contribution to the household. Many students were struggling to keep up with schoolwork while doing household chores, caring for siblings, and working. Some of these students had the added challenge of being recent immigrants.

A large segment of Oscar Romero students were not native English speakers. Both students and staff found language barriers to be a tremendous obstacle to academic and social success.

Even though the school was diverse, there was frustration expressed about being a part of a larger system that was largely white and not necessarily sensitive to the needs of the students in the school. One teacher voiced concern regarding the newly implemented graduation standards, citing them as Euro-centric and not appropriate for all students.

"And I get uncomfortable when the



grad. standards are developed by [white people]. And that, they're out to propose what they perceive as American values on our children. And I'm just saying that, [people of color] have values....The fact of the matter is that all peoples on this planet have things to contribute to education – education [is also what] you get at home, which is minding your manners, knowing your limitations, knowing your boundaries, and that....I get a little shaken up, because I'm uncomfortable with the system we have in terms of looking at things from [the Euro-centric] point."

Students felt they had some exposure to multicultural curricula, however there was not an emphasis on that type of learning. They read modern fiction and non-fiction by a variety of authors. Often, teachers allowed students to choose their own books or projects without requiring diversity as a component. Being in his second year at Oscar Romero, the principal said he had not yet pursued the implementation of inclusive curricula. The curricula came from a combination of district and in-school sources.

"Right now we are using the curriculum that has basically been a compilation over a period of time....I have not taken an in-depth look at the curriculum at Oscar Romero, yet. That's one of the things that, hopefully, I will get to as I become more familiar with all the other programs. And that's one of the struggles, is that Oscar Romero – because of past principals – [there are] some tremendous programs out there. They're very broad and very deep. And, so, just trying to become familiar with that, and all of those different things. And, being a new principal, there are still areas that I have not gotten to."

Comments by teachers regarding their multicultural curricula demonstrated that the school was just in the beginning stages of developing a truly integrated multicultural school.

"We also had a number of courses, and I would say that we probably integrated an awful lot of international, cultural information into the classes during that ten-year period. For instance, the music teachers, when they were adopting new materials, they didn't select materials that – for instance, choral music [did not have] selections from Europeans, European or American composers, [only]. And the band, likewise. Our band started marching, marching units, we bought flags that represented every one of the countries."

Despite teachers' contentedness with the curricula, students were aware of the disparity. One student spoke of a teacher's efforts to incorporate other cultures into their studies. "But, it's like, she was more in the superficial cultures that is the politically correct thing to teach."

Students wanted to have role models and a fair representation of their own history, but they also wanted to learn about people of different cultural backgrounds. "I think that in the history, I think that they should do more about not just one. Because, they think it's just in one section. I think they should do it about Hispanics, African Americans, Asians."

A Native American student commented on teachers whose discussions of Native

Americans were divisive. "And when they talk about the government and the Native Americans, they say 'we,' as in the government, but all the Native Americans are someone else. Or like, 'us' the government...."

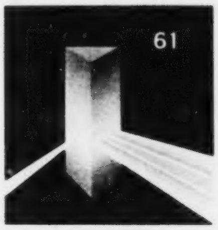
Some students felt further separated by special programming. Although most of the special programming and extra-curricular activities were seen as serving diverse groups of students, there was a marked exception in the advanced placement classes. The majority of students in those classes were white. This served to both isolate the few students of color who were in the classes and paint the classes as out of reach to many other students of color. It served to deprive white students of exposure to other cultures as well. The lack of minority teachers as role models contributed to this prohibitive atmosphere. A teacher spoke to the general feel of advanced classes,

> ***"But there probably aren't a lot of teachers of color teaching those types of classes, either. So, the students may not necessarily see that as an option. And sometimes those honors classes or the IB classes aren't presented as an option to them. They don't think that they can take them. So they don't take them....They figure, 'Well, I didn't take this honors class before, so I can't take it now.'"***

Almost all students mentioned their appreciation of the school's diversity and expressed an interest in receiving a more integrated education. Despite this, the school as a whole lacked an emphasis on multicultural teaching and integrated programming, but seemed to be just beginning to move toward greater integration.

As in other schools, the students recognized the lack of multiculturalism in their school, expressed an interest in studying the cultures of others and in receiving a more well rounded and integrated education. Students were attuned to the value of integrating materials rather than adding occasional topics into the existing, narrow curricula. The school took steps to improve student educational experiences with programs such as parent outreach and JROTC.

However, relationships and attitudes suffered from the exclusive curricula and the segregation in the AP classes. The requirements for an integrated education, as defined by Allport in the discussion earlier, were not met as students were not learning in a cooperative manner and in a way that promoted equal status. Students sought more integrated curricula with a diversity of perspectives that would reflect their own ethnic makeup and bring a greater understanding and respect for each other's cultures. Although Oscar Romero was not as segregated as other urban schools in the EIIP, it remained quite segregated by both racial and economic criteria. The need for many students to hold jobs and share other family responsibilities, while lacking parental involvement in their education, will be a continual strain for these students.



2. Winona LaDuke High School St. Paul, Minnesota

With a student population that is 52.2 percent white, Winona LaDuke High School lies in the desegregated portion of the spectrum. However, it did not meet the criteria for integration due to such things as tracking and Euro-centric curricula. Despite a student body that was nearly half students of color, few measures affirmatively addressed integration.

During the 1998-99 school year, Winona LaDuke was primarily composed of white, African-American, and Asian American students (52.2 percent, 23.0 percent, and 20.8 percent, respectively), with a small number of Hispanic and Native American students (3.3 percent and 0.6 percent, respectively). Just over 30 percent of the students were eligible for free or reduced lunches (33.1 percent) and there was a small number of Limited English Proficiency students (13.0 percent). LaDuke had 84 percent of students score at or above average on the Grade 10 Basic Skills test in writing in January, 1999.[12]

Students at Winona LaDuke did not have concrete post-graduation plans. Many intended to attend college but had not yet applied. Furthermore, students were worried that they could not afford college. Some students planned to work full-time after high school to save money to attend college later. The overall sense from students was that college would help them get a higher paying job. They seemed more concerned with the financial rewards of attending college than the benefits of learning. However, the principal stated that about 80 percent of their students attended college. She did not notice a discrepancy between minority and white student college attendance, but poor, minority students were more likely to go to local two-year colleges than four-year Universities, mainly due to financial constraints.

Students at Winona LaDuke had respect and tolerance for diversity within their school. "One thing I will say about [Winona LaDuke] is that, regardless of whether kids may not always mix, they are tolerant and respectful of others. We have a gay/lesbian group here and they never receive any flack from other kids."

One student expressed the opinion of many regarding the value of the school's diversity. "I mean, my grandmother wanted me to go to a strict, white, Catholic school. And, I mean, if I had done that and come out of high school with that background...I wouldn't know how to deal with other people or I wouldn't understand the way people come off or the different backgrounds and stuff. Whereas, when I come out of this school and go on to college, I'm gonna be used to it already." Another student stated, "You got different races, different ages, different styles, and it all just clashes together. So you just learn a lot. You learn more than what you come here to learn, actually." Students felt racism was not a serious issue. However, they did recognize that students often separated according to race, especially in the cafeteria.

"Everybody sticks to they own. All you have to do, really, to tell how that situation is, is just go to a lunch. You know, the Asians stay with the Asians, the blacks stay with the blacks, and the whites stay with the whites. Very seldom will you see a black and an Asian walking and talking together, sitting at a lunch table. I mean, you can see it, but it's like you have to look

really hard, you have to sit back and watch everybody. It's not like where you can just – go sit and just look over and see, you know, all the Asians together, all the blacks together. Everybody sticks to they own."

Students did not associate this separation with racism. Asian students were thought to separate themselves more than others. According to most students, this was due to language and cultural differences. Students claimed that sports eliminated racial separation. Athletes associated with one another regardless of race.

"Yeah, actually, I'd say athletics are probably the best way to get to know a lot of different people, because they're not thinking about, 'Well, I'm gonna be on this team because there are a whole lot of black people on it. I'm gonna be on this team because – I want to be on this team, whether that would be with a black person, a white person, an Asian person, it doesn't matter, I'm gonna be on this team.' So you get to meet with a whole lot of people. You learn to have to trust one another and you learn to be friends."

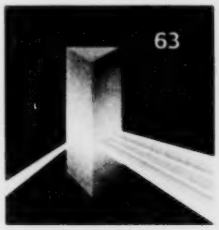
They also said that there was a mix of races at events, such as Homecoming and Student Council. "Homecoming – it's like, no matter what race you are, you're all basically red and black. Everyone paints their face red and black, you don't know who, really, it is anymore. So, it's like we're all bound together by one common thread."

Although students claimed there was little racism in the school, they often mentioned people accusing others of acting in a certain way. For instance, students would accuse someone of acting white or black, usually because of the way someone spoke or dressed.

"I grew up in this neighborhood since I was young, and, you know, people call it the ghetto or whatever, but that does not mean that I'm a gang banger; that I go around doing drive bys and I do drugs and all that other stuff. Because first of all, before I'll even think about doing anything, I want to be school smart…So, like, when I'm in a high class – classes, there's always the smart ones, 'Oh, you want to be white.' First of all, I know when and when not to use slang. I know how and when not to use slang. I know the appropriate ways and areas when not to. If I'm at home, it would be nice, but when I'm in class trying to conduct my grade, or trying to learn, it's different. And they think I'm trying to be white."

Students said that such comments typically came from people of their race. Most often, students accused people who used slang as trying to be black and those who spoke with standard English as trying to be white. Students who dressed in baggy pants and big shirts were also accused of trying to be black. Such statements bothered those who received them, but one student expressed the attitude held by most, "I don't act a color… I act like who I am!"

Students also recognized racial separation in classes. Most students said that AP courses were filled primarily with white kids. The principal said that improvements in earlier education were necessary to get minority students prepared for higher-level classes. "And we say that the issue



is – it's almost too late for them to make that decision when they get to high school. You know, they need to be involved in these accelerated programs, actually from, elementary and junior high."

African-American students in these classes expressed concern regarding the separation and racist treatment by some students and teachers. They often felt isolated and invisible in the classes. The principal related concerns expressed to her by students, "African-American kids who have been in it do talk about the isolation. You know, that there are few kids of color in it. So they just feel isolated and they'd much rather not feel isolated in high school class." One student expressed the following in response to a question if being the only student of color in class made it more difficult to learn. "Sometimes it do, because you, like – like, when they say, 'Class, let's work in groups.' Then, you know, because there are going to be some people that are gonna be like, 'Well, he's in our group, so we'll just, you know, don't even talk to him.'"

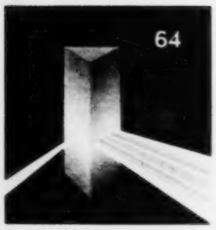
However, another student recognized that being the only minority in a class could have advantages if the other students were not racist. He felt that his opinions were important because he offered a unique perspective. "Because of the fact that I was so different, you know what I'm saying, it helped us get along, because it was, like, I felt that I was, like, you know, I was important." Other students were concerned about the stereotypes that black students were not smart enough to be in higher level classes. "Yeah, if you don't show them. Like, even, like, these stereotypes of, you know, black people not being smart enough or even the way it even looks in our school – that we're not in ivy classes, Quest classes, to make it look like we're not smart enough."

One student spoke of a specific teacher. She said that he constantly made racist jokes and justified them because he had adopted children of color. She said his racism hurt her performance in class as well as her self-esteem.

"Because, my [teacher], he's just, like, you know, he has adopted children [of color], but you can't tell, because he's a little smart alec with his – and it's not good because it's [an advanced] class, and I have to work on it, trying to get an A. But I cannot work hard enough when my teacher is being a smart alec and trying to have, sometimes, racial jokes...And, you know, he tries to be funny, but then he goes, 'Well, I have [non-white] children.'...and there's like two rows with the kids [of color], and down the other side is the white. So, you know, he jokes we're, like, the ghetto part. He says we're the ghetto...."

Several students commented on the racism of substitute teachers. Students said substitutes preferred suburban schools that were predominantly white and that they would immediately judge students by their skin color.

Fair treatment by teachers was also keenly observed and appreciated by students. "...I was never put down, I was never treated different...And I watched her, and seen how she did the different levels. And it's like all our Asians, and Hmongs, and whites, and the two blacks that are in my class get treated the same – there is nothing different."



As demonstrated above, students found that school success or failure was based on internal factors such as self-esteem and self-motivation, as well as external factors such as school climate and family characteristics. They recognized that circumstances such as working late, lack of parental support, or abuse were factors that prevented students from doing well in school. Students and teachers recognized a correlation between parental involvement in the lives of their children and academic success. The principal perceived a high level of parental involvement. Yet students felt that many parents did not participate in school activities or encourage their children to do well in school. As one student put it,

"I think ones that, like, in their household – like, I have a friend that, her mom, like, beats her and so stuff like that. When you don't have people around you that want you to do well or you don't have people around you that are helping you or motivating you, you lose your motivation."

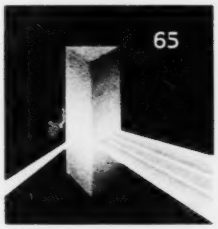
Students also said that teachers who did not support them, were not inspiring, or were racist made it difficult to succeed in school. One of the teachers expressed his insight,

"If a teacher has a welcoming environment in their classroom, then all types of students will come. And a student will take a class no matter how difficult it is if the teacher is there to support them...So we have to create that environment and we have to, also, constructively stop things that we feel create and cause prejudice or racism within the school."

Another hurdle students mentioned was parents who had not graduated from high school. Students said that often these parents did not fully understand the demands of school or know how best to help them. Most students agreed that a nurturing environment was one of the keys to succeeding in school. One student's response to a discussion of parents who simply tried to bribe their children to get good grades, said of her mother, "But her disappointment, her sadness, her understanding is almost more important. It's a bigger goal for me." Students claimed that those who did well were encouraged at home, were self-motivated to succeed beyond high school, and had good teachers. Like other students interviewed in the EIIP, these students were very aware of what was necessary for success and what their environments were lacking. Others students were motivated by defying statistics about their race or poverty. In response to a question regarding what motivated her, one student said,

"Knowing that I want to make something of my life instead of being just another statistic or another person that society can say, 'Well, hey, you know what? This black girl just is another person who didn't do anything.' So I know that I'm not gonna be like that. And I just have goals set for my life. I don't know, I don't want to wind up how other people – most of my family are. I want to be different."

Students were concerned about funding for the school, claiming that many textbooks were outdated and teachers often had to correct the information.



"Well, like in Psychology class, [our teacher] has said to us, 'The books that we have are not up-to-date.' And in American History...the facts are wrong in the book. I mean, even in our chemistry book some of the rules that they gave us for elements, and whatever else, are wrong."

Both a degree of satisfaction and also frustration with the curricula were expressed by students as they did not feel that they were receiving a diverse education. Most students were tired of learning about African Americans only in a context of slavery, or only in reference to Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X.

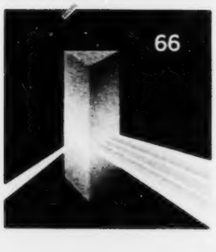
"Every black person knows about the harshness of slavery. So when we went on about blacks, I didn't hear her explain not one person who succeeded in something, one person who invented something, one person who did something to help the world as it still is now, or one person who just did something that was courageous. The times I heard, he was either beaten, ran away, dragged, or killed, or was a slave...It was just negatives...as a matter of fact, the blacks and the Asians were in the same week. Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday we were on blacks. The rest of Wednesday hour and Thursday and Friday we were on Asians – and then we were done."

Students wanted teachers to venture out of the box and introduce new and exciting material rather than covering the same topics they had been studying since elementary school. Regardless of the teacher's race, the students appreciated teachers who made an effort to have more inclusive curricula. Students valued learning about people of their same race, providing them role models and inspiration. "...it encouraged me. Like, if I see, like – for in case, if I see, like, a Hmong running for Mayor and stuff, it encourages me that, 'Wow, you know, Hmong and people are, like, advanced already.' So, I should encourage myself and be one of those too."

Students also felt it was important to learn about other cultures as a valuable tool for future interaction, and most found it interesting. Students wished they were exposed to more of such teachings, especially regarding Hispanics and Asians. Most of the information they received in school came from outside activities such as clubs and festivals.

Students wanted to see changes within the school that would foster a more academically integrated student body as well as improve the tools available to teachers and students. In the 1980s, Winona LaDuke slowly segregated the school according to academic class (i.e. AP was on the top floor, IB was the Fourth Floor, down to Remedial classes on the Second Floor). Tragically, this also resulted in segregation by race. White students were more often in higher-level classes than were black students. Hmong students were further separated by ESL classes. According to students and teachers, subject, not level, now separates the classes. Nonetheless, students said there were still remnants of this academic segregation.

Winona LaDuke, as the first school in the study to qualify as desegregated, demonstrated no attempts to incorporate elements of integration. Students faced a myriad of obstacles to academic and social success. Tremendous within-school segregation, Euro-centric curricula, poor relationships, lack of parental support, and lack of guid-



ance for pursuing college were powerful negative influences in the educational and personal environments of all students, but disproportionately so for students of color.

D. Louisville Schools Context

The schools of Louisville, Kentucky are unique in that they are overseen by a countywide district called the Jefferson County Public Schools. This regional school district structure, and the area's successful history of busing as a desegregation mechanism, gained national praise for Jefferson County. A recent legal challenge to the district's retention of race-conscious student assignment policies brought by parents of African-American students raised the question of whether a new paradigm of integration is necessary for past successes to continue.

Before 1975, the city of Louisville, which is entirely within Jefferson County, was served by three different school districts. Two large districts, Jefferson County School District and Louisville School District, covered the geographic majority of the city. A third, Anchorage Independent School District, covered the border of the city and was composed almost entirely of white students. Prior to Brown, the State of Kentucky operated formally segregated school systems.

In the 1956-57 school year, the Jefferson County school board and the Louisville school board drew boundary lines that geographically desegregated. However, the school districts also implemented permissive transfer policies that limited the impact of the new boundary lines.

Amidst protests, sit-ins, and boycotts of other segregated sites in Louisville, particularly in the city's central business district, the Louisville schools implemented a voluntary choice student transfer rule in the early 1960s. The rule permitted any student, upon written request from a parent, to transfer out of the school of his/her residential zone to any other school of the same grade level in the city. White student transfers tended to occur at the "tipping point," the point when 30 percent of the schools' population was black, creating a "transfer-exodus" effect. Under this same plan, the Louisville system allowed students free choice of senior high schools.[124]

In 1972, the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights released a report on Louisville schools from 1956-1971, documenting the failure of the system in both student and faculty desegregation. The report compared Louisville to ten major school systems in Southern states and found that Louisville had the worst record in both student and faculty segregation, including Atlanta, Birmingham, Charlotte, Columbia, Jackson, Jacksonville, Little Rock, Nashville, and Richmond. The report dramatized the importance of teacher desegregation as an integral part of desegregation plans.[125] After the release of the reports, suits to desegregate and merge local schools were initiated.

In 1975 two suits were filed against the Jefferson County school district and the Louisville school district. These suits[126] were later consolidated into a single lawsuit.[127] At issue was the racial isolation of the schools within these districts. The court found that Jefferson County had two all-black schools; Louisville had 56 percent black children concentrated in three of the city's 74 elementary schools; and over 80 percent of the schools in Louisville were racially identifiable. Further, the adjoining school district, Anchorage Independent

School District, was composed entirely of white students. The court held that, because of the history of formal segregation in these school districts, the boards of education had an affirmative duty to bring their school systems to unitary status, that is, to ensure that schools no longer be racially identifiable. The plaintiffs in this suit proposed that the three school districts be combined in order to effectuate desegregation in the area. The court responded by holding that where there are separate school districts in a single county, a desegregation plan may involve district line crossing. The Sixth Circuit Appellate Court charged the lower court with the task of creating a remedial judicial order to that effect.

The school districts appealed this decision to the United States Supreme Court. The high court remanded the case for reconsideration in light of its 1974 decision in *Milliken v. Bradley*.[128] As discussed earlier, that decision held that a district court does not have the authority to compel a school district to be a part of a desegregation plan if that district has not been found to have intentionally segregated its schools. On remand from the Supreme Court, the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals held that the Louisville districts were distinguishable from the schools in the Milliken case because both Jefferson County and Louisville school districts had been intentionally segregated. The appellate court ordered that the plan could overreach the existing district boundaries if the district court disregard the Jefferson County and Louisville district lines in creating a desegregation remedy. In addition, the appellate court held that if it was necessary to effectuate the desegregation plan, the district court could annex the Anchorage Independent School District.[129] After this decision, the Jefferson County School District and the Louisville School District were merged by state law, leaving only Jefferson County and Anchorage Independent School Districts as the parties in the desegregation litigation.

The decision of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals was appealed to the Supreme Court. The district court judge refused to create a desegregation plan before the Supreme Court decided the case. To this refusal, the plaintiffs responded by filing a court action to compel the district court judge, Judge Gordon, to issue an order for full and complete desegregation of the Jefferson County School District. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals then issued the order, requiring Judge Gordon to order desegregation in the 1975-1976 school year, regardless of the imminence of any appeal, and if necessary, to include Anchorage Independent School District in the plan. The appellate court further ordered that the desegregation plan should remain in effect regardless of appeals, except for any portion of the plan that would include the Anchorage Independent School District.[130]

Pursuant to this order, the district court did create a desegregation plan. The plan included provisions for reassignment of students and desegregation of teachers and staff. The district court dismissed the Anchorage Independent School District as a party, holding that the school district should not be included because it had never been found to have intentionally segregated its schools. This dismissal of Anchorage was appealed by the plaintiffs, and the defendants appealed the desegregation plan that the district court had designed. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the decision of the district court on both matters: Anchorage was dismissed and the desegregation plan was to be implemented.[131]

As a result of this litigation, Louisville became one of the last two major urban school districts to desegregate. The merged Jefferson County School System implemented a mandatory busing plan requiring a 12 to 40 percent African-American student population in elementary schools and a 12.5 to 35 percent black population in middle and high schools. Students were bused according to their last name and grade level.

At the end of the following school year, in May of 1976, the district court conducted hearings to monitor compliance with the desegregation plan. The court determined that at least 28 elementary schools did not satisfy the racial guidelines set out in the desegregation order and held that this level of non-compliance was unacceptable. To remedy the non-compliance, the court increased the busing of African-American students such that 900 more students would be bused to new schools. The plaintiffs appealed this decision, arguing that such an action fell outside the jurisdiction of the district court. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals opined that a district court may take broad measures to remedy a constitutional violation, in keeping with similar decisions of the Supreme Court.[132]

The final action taken by the district court was the creation of an indefinite exemption from the desegregation plan for first graders. But the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals held that such an exemption would leave "vestiges of segregation intact" and so ruled that it was unconstitutional.[133]

Public opinion of busing at the time was divided amongst African Americans and whites. Scholars John McConahay and Willis Hawley conducted extensive interviewing during this period to determine public opinion on the desegregation plan, particularly as the manifestation of public reaction transformed from protests and demonstrations to more quiet compliance. The two published reports in 1977 and 1978, and found great disparities in the responses of white and African-American interviewees across the board.

First, interviewees were asked their feelings about having the racial composition in the schools reflect that of the county; 90 percent of blacks thought that it was a good idea, as compared to only 51 percent of white respondents. When asked their reaction to desegregation as it was being implemented in Jefferson County, 29 percent of black respondents stated that they strongly favored busing, while only 1 percent of whites answered that way. Fifty-three percent of whites also stated that they opposed busing in all cases, not just in the particular context of Jefferson County, while only nine percent of African-American respondents opposed busing in all cases.[134]

With the benefit of hindsight, Robert Crain of Columbia University's Teachers College, highlighted Louisville as a busing success story. Crain cited, as connected to this success, the relative absence of white flight in the region. He attributed it to the merging of the predominantly white Jefferson County schools with Louisville city schools, which were about 50 percent black at the time of the merger.[135]

In 1978, a federal judge declared that the Jefferson County system was fully desegregated and therefore lifted the court order. Independently, the school district decided to continue mandatory busing but changed its racial guidelines such that elementary schools could be composed of between 16 to 40 percent black students; for middle and high schools the range was changed to between 16 to 35 percent black students.

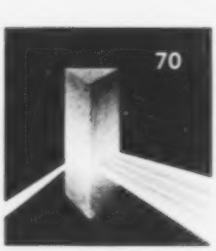
The desegregation plan for middle and high schools underwent revision in 1984 to become a system of zones and satellite areas with the effect that most students attended school in their residential areas.

Racial guidelines were altered from the 1978 policy: elementary schools were to be composed of between 23 and 43 percent black students; and middle and high schools were to be 12 to 42 percent black.

In 1992, Project Renaissance replaced mandatory busing. It was designed to integrate elementary schools by giving parents a choice of schools to attend. Racial guidelines were retained but changed again, such that no school should have a racial composition of less than 15 percent, nor more than 50 percent African-American students.

In a fairly unique move, the district currently articulates its goals for educating students with race at the fore: "All [district students] will become critical thinkers and life-long learners who are academically prepared in a racially integrated environment."[16] The district attempts to make the classroom racial composition reflective of each school's population. The district further supports this goal of integration with quality-oriented mechanisms: by holding teachers and staff accountable; conducting biannual evaluations of employees; and mandatory professional development.[17]

The enrollment policy for the 1998-99 school year involved five criteria. Student assignment is determined by examining the space availability at the desired school, the program requirements, the impact on the racial balance, any transportation limitations, and, receiving less emphasis, athletic recruitment. These criteria are used in assigning students to Jefferson County's schools: Optional (a form of local school), Magnet, and Career Magnet.[18]



As mentioned above, the district's student assignment policy prohibits any school from having an enrollment that is more than 50 percent or less than 15 percent African-American.[19] In 1998, parents of several African-American students whose applications were rejected at Central High School filed suit against the school district because the school's enrollment was already 50 percent black.

The plaintiffs asserted that the racial balance policies resulted in more than 300 black students being denied admission to Central High School, a historically black school, in 1997-98, despite the fact that this and other high schools were operating under capacity. The parents bringing the lawsuit argued that the policies were depriving their children the right to attend the school of their choice, and that the rule should be revised to facilitate integration and choice. Further, the parents asserted that some programs within the district were not held to the racial balance rule. They offered as an example the Advance Program, a program tailored to gifted and talented students, the racial composition of which was only 11 percent African-American.[20]

The tension between the goals of achieving numerical desegregation and opening access to programs for the growing population of African-American students was understood by Central's principal, Harold Fenderson. He supported the notion of having integrated schools because students will not be going to work in a segregated environment. But he also said students should have the opportunity to come to Central, which offers programs in business, law, and government; computer technology; and medicine. "It's not about race; it's about the opportunities that students can receive here that aren't offered at other schools."[21]

The lawsuit was characterized by Louisville journalist Rochelle Riley as an opportunity for a long-overdue dialogue on race and education in Jefferson County:

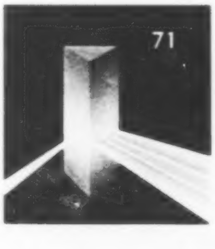
It could prompt soul-searching, record-searching, and analysis as the school district takes a hard look at how it assigns, and whether black students are being educated in the current system. On one side is the Jefferson County School District, which must focus on the big picture: the county must have integrated schools. Not having them would set back the county and state about 40 years. On the other side are black activists who want black children to participate in some pretty special magnet programs – even if the programs have met their quota of black students. In this case, compromises would be better than stand-offs.[12]

The Jefferson County Public Schools district monitors the changes in neighborhood racial composition and annually assesses the need for redrawing boundary lines. The results of this monitoring and assessment could lead to the adoption of any number of reform efforts, including the expansion of the magnet system, as has been advocated for by groups of African-American parents; the connection of school integration policies with public and affordable housing development, as was suggested by groups that attempted to join the Central High lawsuit; or, at a minimum, the alteration of the racial balance policy, which the district is said to support.

1. Leonora O'Reilly High School Louisville, Kentucky

Leonora O'Reilly High School, in Louisville Kentucky, had a student population of 1,155 during the 1997-98 school year. (The Jefferson County school district tabulates its student population by two racial categories: "black" and "other." Such categorization is a throwback to the days of state-sanctioned segregation.) Approximately 60.0 percent of the student population was "other" and around 40.0 percent was African-American, slightly over 10.0 percent higher than the district percentage. Almost 64 percent of students qualified for free lunches, a figure nearly double the district percentage. Similarly, Leonora O'Reilly's dropout rate (15.1 percent) was almost twice that of the district's (7.9 percent). With the limited data available, we place Leonora O'Reilly within the segregated to desegregated portion of the spectrum. The student body was close to the proportion of the racial composition of the region. However, the school experienced a much higher concentration of low-income students than the region, which had a strong negative impact on the school and students.

Perhaps the most disturbing indicator is students' low academic achievement as measured by state tests. During the 1998-99 school year, Leonora O'Reilly students scored markedly below state and district wide students on the Kentucky Core Content Test. Students' total academic index was 39.1, compared to the district figure of 59.5 and 60.3 for the state. Leonora O'Reilly students scored lowest in reading, with an index of 38.8 (compared to 64.3 for the district and 66.6 for the state), followed by math at 39.4 (67.2 for



the district and 67.3 for the state), 43.9 for social studies (65.8 district and 67.2 state), and 50.9 for science (64.2 district and 66.3 state).(4)

The demographics of the school were affected by the dynamics of the larger school environment. The principal saw that a number of "the highest functioning kids, academically" were drawn away from Leonora O'Reilly by schools with special programs, private schools, and a magnet school, leaving behind a number of low-income and struggling students. Teachers and administrators were concerned by the difficult circumstances faced by many of their students. "[Our] kids beat the odds here – they try hard....I just wish we didn't have a lot of hungry kids here."

The principal explained that the area surrounding the school had moved from a middle class to a lower income community, with an increase in the numbers of low-income housing projects.

"It is a fairly large district in [the] physi-geographic dimension of it – but also in the number of students that reside in this area. Over the years of being a more affluent school it is [now] probably the school with the highest percentage of free and reduced lunch students in Jefferson County. We have about 70 percent of our kids on free and reduced lunch. Also, all the factors that tend to go along with a lower socioeconomic community are evident in this school. There's a diverse student population. We have a lot of students who speak English as a second language who have tended to congregate in an apartment complex in this area. We have a lot of special needs students who go here. And so, we are striving to serve that community of students."

Teachers and students felt that college attendance was low among graduates. Those interviewed had plans to attend college but felt that a "limited supply" of Leonora O'Reilly students went on for further education. The principal said,

"The best I can recall...about 38 to 40 percent [of our students] went to college....[which was] probably lower than the district average. When it's – when you have a high percentage of students who have a hard time affording lunch, you know, it's hard to afford college....Plus, many of our kids don't have that tradition in the family, academic tradition. The parents may not have the skills that give them the kind of – not only economic support, but emotional support to stay in college."

One student in the JROTC program, a military prep program said, "Yes, ma'am. I intend to [go to college] along with – while I'm in the military."

Most students who planned to attend college said they would have to work as well. Other students did not appear to have received guidance or information regarding college. One student said,

"If I don't have a scholarship, I'm going to the Air Force out of [high school] and I'm going to get a scholarship for it....I want to be a surgeon, but I don't really like math a lot. But I like cutting into stuff. I'll probably just be in, I don't know, probably the Air Force, cause I want to travel."

Another student said, "Well, I plan to go to college if it's free. You know what I'm saying, if they reduce it, or something. [Or if] my mom, she'll pay for it. But I ain't paying for no college or nothing. But I'll go if it's free."

Those students who had concrete plans to attend college, consistently had parental support and supervision. "My mother's always on me, 'Where's your report card?' Or, 'Have you got homework?' Everyday, she's on me. Pushing me. Pushing me. My father, every day. All my aunts and uncles, sisters, brothers, everyday." Students who had ambiguous plans beyond high school or who considered other forms of training had little to no family support or supervision of their education. One student, whose eventual goal was to sell Amway, said that his parents had not said anything to him about his grades since he entered high school and that his father, "[didn't] have any opinion." These students also said that they either did not get homework assignments or they had no time to study because of "other responsibilities." This echoes the conditions found in the other EIIP schools suffering from concentrated poverty. Many families were forced to concentrate on making ends meet and were unable to have school be a priority.

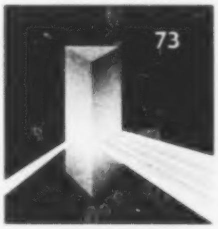
Many students were working while attending Leonora O'Reilly. "Probably the majority of everybody works." Teachers viewed the financial struggles of students and families as a challenge to student achievement. Teachers noted a lack of resources ranging from food and books to guidance and role modeling.

"You know, they don't have the resources that other students have....Well, I think it affects, you know, their class work. We find so many kids on reduced lunch and they just, you know....they've not had any experiences, and so I think that that's a problem with being poor....they don't experience a lot of things."

The principal said,

"[Some] of the kids' lack of success at school....it's parents who have a difficult time meeting the functioning support of the home. They need a lot of parenting skills that they have not been able to learn. And they are working at survival level....Struggling to survive....[Our] attendance, if you have – you look at lower socioeconomic communities, you're going to have a lower attendance rate. The kids are not as healthy. The kids are needed at home more. The parent is not there, they're working two or three jobs. They don't know whether the kid is there. There's not a car to get the kid to school if they miss the bus. Many of them don't have telephones, so we can't contact the parents.

"See what's going on....I don't think that parents in this school care less about their kids. I don't think parents at this school have any less desire for their child to be academically successful or less successful in careers....and you want to know when your child's not doing well. But as far as being available to come to meetings in the evenings, they have to take the bus – and there's one kid watching the other kids at home. It's difficult...."



One of the teachers took active steps to help parents learn to encourage their children.

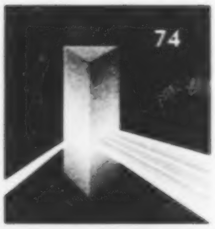
"I get on them – call home [and say], 'Your baby needs to go to college.' [They say], 'She does? She's never made college kind of [grades].' Doesn't have to. I didn't either, in high school. My ACT score told me I was gonna be a C student at best. I'd better go into a technical field, you know – manual labor, or something stupid, it said. I never will forget that….It was intimidating…I didn't even think college was for me [but] my mother made me go….These kids, with maturity, all of them are college material….So I make them do all the college stuff anyway, 'cause I said, 'You might not do it when you graduate, or right now, but you need to know how to do this 'cause one day you'll have to – 'cause you need to go to college. You don't need to sit around and do what people around you have done.' Some of them talk about how their families are really gruff with them and say, 'You think you're better than us, 'cause you're going to graduate from high school, don't you?'….And I [say], 'Well you are [better] in that aspect…in terms of what you choose to do with your life, you can do better.'"

Teachers noted that students in the ESL program often faced the challenges of low income, in addition to language barriers and cultural differences.

"We have not had a very high participation of our ESL kids in much of any [extra-curricular] area simply because they – their culture, their tendencies to work, to emphasize academic skills and progress. That, and having to help out with their family as much as possible. If you have any extra time you spend it either helping out taking care of the family, and cooking and that kind of thing. Or work an outside job to bring in some financial support to the family. So, I'm glad to see that we are beginning to get a few more of those kids involved in our extra-curricular activities."

ESL students had previously been in a pullout program that resulted, in noticeable friction between ESL students and others. After mainstreaming ESL students into the classrooms, there was marked improvement in student relationships. Students and teachers noted that relationships among students of different races were positive. Students mixed and cooperated well during formal school activities and were encouraged to do so by teachers.

This interracial contact is an important step toward integration. However, during unstructured times such as at lunch and outside, students tended to associate with students of their own race. "But of course, that's your friends. You gotta sit with your friends. But they talk, they don't just have, like, all the Vietnamese on one side, [or] all the white people." However, some students noticed that Vietnamese and Muslim students tended to segregate themselves more exclusively than did other groups. "They're just used to their own group of people." Similar reasons were given regarding all of the other groups of students, including familiarity and ease of



communication. One student said, "I think that blacks and whites are working together better. But I don't think that we really – I'm personally – I don't think I take the time out and talk to [white students]." Another said, "Well, I think they are insecure about themselves. They don't want to, you know, thank their spirits and venture out and mix in with other peoples out there. They're just used to their own group of people." The school did not have structures in place to encourage social mixing among the races.

Although there was no formal tracking within the school, the honors classes were formerly composed of primarily white students. One of the teachers intervened and began recruiting students of color. She discussed an African-American "top-notch honors student" who withdrew from honors courses because of the treatment he received from teachers. Additionally, she said, "There's some kids in other classes that need to be [in the honors classes]. They might not have perfect syntax…but they have critical thinking down pat. They have sharp cognitive skills that they know how to use, and they need to be in that class."

Despite the segregation of the higher classes and the self-segregation during free time, almost all students cited diversity as the school's strongest characteristic, "Because you get to experience new things, 'cause there's so many different races and people of different ethnic groups." One student said, "It's just giving us, like, a head start on what the world's really like 'cause there's so much out there." Another student said, "I love to learn about other cultures, you know? Because, it's like…you deal with these different people every day. You're not here on this earth by yourself, you know? And you have to know about other people to interact with them, you know?"

In addition to appreciating the diverse student population, students valued learning about their own culture as well as the cultures of other students. "It's important, it is. 'Cause I want to know, I don't want to be blind. I want to be able to get involved in the conversations and the debate. If I don't know nothing, I can't talk." Although some teachers were attempting to incorporate aspects of multiculturalism into their classes, the effort was lost on most students. An African-American student said, "We probably know more stuff about white people than we know about ourselves." Another student said, "See, mainly, most of the writers are mostly white. Like, white and some black." Of his history class, one student said, "That's just white man's stuff. That's just strictly the whole book." Students said that during Black History Month they received a picture and a page of information about an African-American person. The exposure to various cultures that students did receive was limited primarily to well-known African Americans such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and Harriet Tubman.

The school offered an African-American Literature course on occasion. Students attending the class were almost exclusively African-American and attendance was low, with between 10 and 15 students. A newly instituted cultural program was an attempt to improve the school's meager progress toward an inclusive curricula; each month a different racial or ethnic group would be recognized in the school. One of the teachers had planned a project in her class to celebrate Chinese New Year, however, most of her students were Vietnamese and only one student was Chinese. Several teachers decided to make the Chinese New Year celebration, "as authentically Vietnamese as [they could]." While such add-on programs were well intended, they demonstrated a lack of understanding regarding the creation and implementation of an integrated educational environment.

Special programming offered students opportunities to gain experience in a variety of career fields, college preparation, and work experience. The school ran a daycare for teen parents that also gave students experience in early childhood education. The Adult Student Accelerated Program (ASAP) allowed students to attend school for three hours per day and work for three hours, earning them six credits. The Success Maker program allowed ESL students extra time in the computer lab.

Six years prior, the school started a college preparatory program called AVID (Advance Via Individual Determination). Students worked on other course work and received help from the AVID teacher. The students worked on organizational and study skills, wrote to colleges, practiced filling out college applications, and engaged in other college preparation activities. The aim was to provide enough support to AVID students that they would go onto college.

One of the math teachers ran a program in which the students operated a working bank within the school, complete with a mission statement, an operations manual, and brochures. The students decided the services they would offer, such as checking accounts, savings accounts, and loans. A local bank sponsors the program, which is used by students and teachers alike. Local banks were beginning to show interest in renewing the coop and internship program that had, 25 years ago, operated in conjunction with the bank.

According to staff, the Construction Technology Program (CTP) offered,

"the opportunity for students to get training in nine different technical areas related to Construction Technology from: architectural drafting, interior design, plumbing, heating and air conditioning, carpentry, masonry, welding, building maintenance, and electric. Anything in the construction of a building. As a matter of fact, we're building a house....it has to meet all building codes, as any building has to, and it's inspected regularly....[When it's done] we'll sell it. And we have to pay back the board the cost of the building, the materials, and lot. And then, hopefully, we'll realize a profit and that profit will allow us to perpetuate building every year."

Nearly 50 percent of the school's students participated in the CTP. The academic and technical teachers worked together to ensure that students completed their academic work. "Some days they're here and they're at the academic classes all day and other days they're out at the house all day." This required students to get "a great deal done" on the days they were in classes. "And we selected teachers that could work with the students in the academic areas in a little bit different type of expectation..."

There were complaints that the school did not address race issues directly. There were also mixed student reviews of teachers. While some students felt teachers were respectful and caring, others felt that teachers were not supportive of them and often referred students with concerns to someone else. Teachers were thought to avoid addressing racial issues that came up in class. "I think that it's probably one of our problems and I think it needs to be addressed." One student said of teachers, "The majority of [students] the teachers respect, but like some teachers just...totally stereotype them and when they see them that's how they treat them." Another said,

"An African-American male with brains...might have his pants sagging or something like that....But some teachers will automatically say, 'Oh well, he's not nothing. He's just a dog out on the street.' You know? And they don't try to help him. They don't try to talk to him, learn nothing about them or anything."

Several students felt teachers did not do enough for those students who struggled academically. "Not all of the teachers, but I don't like some of the teachers that I feel, like, give up on your students. I feel like they are, like – they'll teach you to a certain extent and then if you just – if you have a problem to where you just can't learn, they give up."

In addition to negative feelings toward teachers, students cited gangs or violence as the other negative characteristics of the school. As one student expressed, "And they have all this gang stuff going on which is not necessary because the school is supposed to be for you to learn, not for gangs. You can go outside on the streets – wait until you get out of school." The principal cited gangs as the primary source of tension among students. Teachers noted that many students were attending anger management classes. To combat the violence from gang activity, the school instituted a dress code, thereby lessening their ability to "represent" their gangs.

Some students and teachers felt the dress code had lessened the problem. "Yeah, 'cause we didn't have a dress code and we were coming with gang colors and it would start gang fights. But after, let's see, junior year – after we got the dress code the gang stuff just – I don't even hear nobody even talk about gangs all that much anymore." Still, others felt the gang presence remained strong and felt the dress code was not only ineffective but that teachers focused on it too much. "They care more about what you wear than what you learn.

The gang problem was cited by most, to be more widespread among younger students entering the school from the middle schools. Additionally, these young students demonstrated poor Comprehensive Test for Basic Skills (CTBS) scores.

"On the CTBS test that was given last spring, the students – ninth-graders at [Leonora O'Reilly], scored worst in the state....So we're getting students whose skills are really very low. But the fact that we get kids that are really among the lowest in the state and that we have been able to work with these students and by the time they take the [state assessment] test in June they are showing not the lowest [scores] in the state. You know, we're not as far from the bottom as I'd like to be, but we generally have shown some significant growth with those kids."

When considering the creation and implementation of multicultural programming in light of the challenges to academic success that Leonora O'Reilly students face, the principal said, "sometimes you can't focus on everything. If you spread yourself so broad, then you're not going to do anything as well as you could have. So we're trying fairly well to focus on performance standards." The principal voiced his frustration over funding.

"Schools where you have a high level – high percentage of lower socioeconomic background students, the needs are greater. We need our labs – computer labs are pathetic. The use of technology in the classroom is pathetic. There needs to be, in my thinking – if a district comes in and introduces anything, they [should] go to the schools where you have a lower socioeconomic level and do that first. You make them the – on the cutting edge of whatever you're doing. Because, in the home of the average student here at [Leonora O'Reilly], you don't have a computer. They do not have the Internet. And if that is the case, then those kids are going to be functioning at a lower level, be less knowledgeable than those kids [who] use a computer everyday at home."

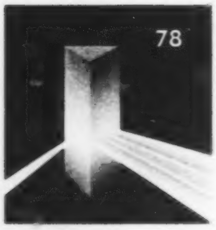
Although Leonora O'Reilly had a diverse student body fairly consistent with the district's racial composition, it had a high number of students from low socioeconomic families and ESL students. The school seemed to be stretched for resources that interfered with the education of their students. The school's resources were tight, but students' resources were even tighter, with many students juggling the demands of jobs and family responsibilities. In this environment it was difficult for education to be a priority, especially when such a large number of students faced these struggles.

E. Shaker Heights School Context

A suburb on the southeast border of Cleveland, Shaker Heights has a population of 31,000 people with above average income and education levels. Beginning in the 1960s, the city of Shaker Heights made extraordinary efforts to address racial segregation in its community as its minority population increased, and to promote integration of its neighborhoods and its schools. As a result, "Shaker Heights is one of the few examples of sustained suburban racial integration in the United States."[144]

Shaker Heights officials have taken a systemic approach to the integration of their community, recognizing, for example, that housing patterns and school segregation are interrelated, and should be addressed together. The school board and the school system administration have long been involved in the city's efforts to integrate its neighborhoods.

In an early example of the cooperative efforts that characterize Shaker Heights' pro-integrative strategies, the mayor, the city council and the board of education joined in 1964 to form the Shaker Citizens' Advisory Commission to address community issues, including housing segregation. That same year, the Commission's first act was to ban the display of "for-sale" signs on front lawns, to stave off the "blockbusting" that had contributed to resegregation elsewhere. The board of education also funded and sent representatives to the governing board of the Shaker Housing Office, which was founded in 1967 to promote housing integration. In 1968, the school board even took the unusual step of employing a community worker to try to recruit white residents to buy and rent



homes in the Moreland elementary school district, which was on the way to becoming an all-black neighborhood.[145]

Another cooperative endeavor of the city government and the school system is the Fund for the Future of Shaker Heights, an innovative incentive program encouraging residential integration. Using privately donated money, the Fund provides low-cost mortgage loans of $3000 to $6000 to whites who move into a neighborhood that is more than 50 percent black and to blacks moving to a neighborhood that is more than 90 percent white. The city government and the board of education founded the Fund together in 1986 and share the program's administrative expenses. Donald L. DeMarco, director of community services for the city, said in 1992, "If you look at (the Fund) as a housing program, you say yes, maybe this is something that a board of education should not be involved with, (but) it actually is an integrative organization more than a housing organization."[146]

Shaker Heights' commitment to an integrated community has long carried over into its school system. "It is in the public schools, which are considered among the most rigorous in the country, that Shaker Heights' relentless race consciousness is perhaps most on display," wrote a New York Times reporter in 1991.[147]

Up until 1968, Shaker Heights' sole approach to desegregating its schools was the effort to racially integrate the schools' neighborhoods. In 1968, the school district administration began a two-year study, with the goal of improving the racial balance in the elementary schools. In 1970, the school district administration recommended to the school board a plan to partially desegregate the 88 percent black Moreland elementary school by busing all of the fourth through sixth grade students to six predominantly white schools. The board held two public hearings, at which it became apparent that the administration's proposal was unacceptable to both pro-and anti-desegregation factions of the community.

Within three months of the administration's proposal, a group of parents conceived and presented to the board a program that came to be known as the Shaker Heights Plan. The Plan was a voluntary cross-enrollment and busing program for the seven most segregated of the city's nine elementary schools. Under the plan, any student in one of these schools could transfer to any other of the schools if the transfer would improve racial balance. Supporters of the Plan presented the board with a list of about 100 white children whose parents had said they would be willing to transfer them to Moreland under the voluntary program. The board approved the Plan as an experiment in 1970, adopted it as a permanent program in 1973, and then expanded it in 1977 to include the city's remaining two elementary schools and both junior high schools.[148]

In a 1978 document, the school district administration articulated the Plan's objectives. The primary goal was "to bring each school's enrollment as close as possible to the district-wide racial balance," which was then "approximately two thirds white and one third black students." Beyond the goal of numerical desegregation, the Plan had larger ambitions:

> ***By being part of an integrated school community from an early age, each child is better prepared to enter our integrated secondary schools and later to participate more effectively in the multi-racial society beyond the school doors. Many children find through the Plan their first opportunity to make***

friends of another race. While becoming aware of cultural differences and similarities, they also learn to perceive each other as individuals.

A key component in the Plan's promotion was the matching of new families in the program with families in the receiving school, "who help both children and parents feel welcome in their new surroundings." Programs in support of the Plan, funded by the U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare, included professional development programs to give teachers insights into the needs of students in desegregated schools, elementary school resource rooms allowing children to mingle outside the regular classroom setting, and cultural awareness programs.[149]

By 1978 more than 10 percent of Shaker Heights elementary and junior high school students were voluntarily participating in the Plan, and several previously racially isolated schools had become significantly more integrated. Moreland Elementary school, which in 1968 had a black student population of 88 percent and climbing, was 30 percent white in 1978; and Malvern Elementary, which had enrolled no black students in 1968, was 16 percent black 10 years later.[150]

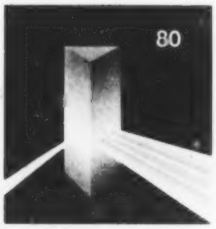
In 1987 Shaker Heights undertook a system-wide redistricting and reorganization project. The primary motivation for the change was a declining student population that necessitated closure of some elementary schools, but the improvement of racial balance in the schools was also a factor.[151]

Under the 1987 plan, the city's two junior high schools were transformed into middle schools: one school for all fifth and sixth graders, and one for all seventh and eighth graders. Four of the nine elementary schools were closed and the elementary school boundaries were redrawn so that each school – now housing only kindergarten through fourth grade students – would draw enough children from the nearest black and white neighborhoods to achieve a racial balance approximating the 50-50 balance of the student population as a whole.[152]

Having achieved racial balance in its schools, the school district has turned its attention to fostering racial sensitivity and harmony within the schools as well as the problem of segregation within individual schools. The board of education's Human Relations Policy, adopted in 1987, provides in part:

> ***Positive human relations materials, written and audio-visual, shall be included in the total school curriculum from kindergarten through twelfth grade in as many subjects and disciplines as possible to promote racial, religious, social and cultural understanding, cooperation and respect among all people. Additionally, the curriculum shall include an equitable presentation of significant viewpoints, achievements, cultures and experiences of both sexes and of the major racial and religious groups in the United States.***

All sixth graders are required to participate in a racial sensitivity training program conducted by the Student Group on Race Relations (SGORR). SGORR is an organization of high school students, founded in 1983 by students who were concerned that the positive relationships enjoyed by black and white elementary school children often did not survive the transition to middle



school. The SGORR program consists of three one-day workshops that are spaced throughout the school year and augmented by follow-up activities under the supervision of the sixth grade teachers. Each year close to 150 high school students volunteer with SGORR, designing the curricula and conducting the workshops. Racial sensitivity is also part of the curricula at the high school, where an elective course called Oppression, focusing on slavery and the Holocaust, is one of the school's most popular classes.

Shaker Heights schools also strive to close the persistent gap in achievement between black and white students. In addition to the tutoring, special classes, and counseling services provided by the schools, high-achieving African-American upperclassmen at the high school mentor struggling ninth- and tenth-graders in a program of their own design.[153]

The high school's Faculty Achievement Committee was formed in the mid-1980s to address the underachievement of minority students, particularly African-American males. The Committee's accomplishments include persuading the faculty as a whole to abolish "grade weighting," in which the grades from general level courses were assigned lower grade-point values than those from college preparatory courses, and getting the school-day schedule adjusted so that students would have more time to seek extra help from their teachers. In 1990, the Committee's consultation with high-achieving African-American male students inspired those students to form the Minority Achievement Committee (MAC). In addition to establishing the student mentoring program for underachieving black male underclassmen, MAC prevailed upon the school administration to expand the practice of posting a monthly Honor Roll. The Honor Roll, that was composed of students with GPAs of 3.5 or above, was expanded to include a Merit Roll for GPAs 3.0 to 3.49 and a Recognition Roll for 2.5 to 2.99.[154]

1. Hiram R. Revels High School Cleveland, Ohio area

Hiram R. Revels High School's conscious effort to have integrated curricula and student body starts at the elementary school level. The school and the district have a number of programs to affirmatively address racial issues. When issues are identified, students or the school are likely to respond. Hiram R. Revels falls toward the integrated end of the spectrum. The school is working toward true integration, with its greatest shortcoming being its lack of truly integrated curricula.

The only high school in its district, Hiram R. Revels had a student population that was approximately 50 percent black and 50 percent white during the 1998-99 school year. During the 1997-98 school year, Hiram R. Revels 12th-graders had consistently higher percentages of students pass than did the state, 67.2 percent for math (50.1 percent for the state), 75.0 for reading (66.7 state), 88.7 for writing (77.6 state), and 65.6 for science (55.4 state). Students graduated at a rate of 93.8 percent, compared to 79.9 percent for the state. Between 85 and 90 percent of students went on to college, with many attending prestigious four-year universities.[155] The Hiram R. Revels area is predominantly middle and upper class, however, many of the African-American high school students are from poor communities in nearby Cleveland. The principal said, *"So we have a high number of doctors. So we've got a lot of different professionals, and we've got very good transportation from here to downtown. So, I don't know. There's businessmen – or whomever, can conveniently use public transportation to reach the actual heart of the city, um, working in financial districts. So all of these things sort of like, coincide to give us a highly educated population."*

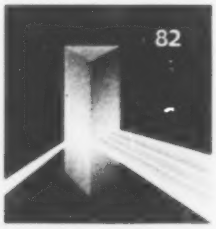
One of the striking features of the community was its deliberately integrated housing policy, which supports a pro-integrative movement. Again, the principal stated,

"Because if you go back – I bought a house in this community in 1960...there were certain portions of the contract that were designed, to limit the introduction of minorities or, you know, 'unacceptable' populations....But [the city] had a high percentage of, of Jews. So there was a degree of, if not racial, religious diversity within the city. Which, which was significantly different from many other schools, in the area. And, so, in the sixties this community, I think, recognized that by its geographical position there was going to be a change – a racial change in the makeup of the population. And this community, in my opinion, embraced that change and tried to do things to make it happen in the most positive of ways.

"Now, some people would say it's too controlled. But they, they had a housing office that would proactively try to ensure that whites in the city who were looking for housing saw housing stock in predominantly minority neighborhoods [and] that minorities entering the city saw housing stock in predominantly – in the majority of the neighborhoods so that there was an attempt, as I see it, to stabilize and equalize. So we wound up, not with pockets of blacks and pockets of whites, but quite a spread of diversity. Then in addition, the community, did a, a busing project of its own – internal through the city. Actually, it wasn't mandatory. It was not mandatory integration; it was voluntary integration. So there were certain 'neighborhood schools' in predominantly minority neighborhoods.

"[The district reorganized around the]...mid eighties...[to create] single-site education [for grades]...five, six, seven, eight, [and] nine [through] twelve....[All] of the students in those grades, irrespective of community or neighborhood, attend the same school. So again, it's an attempt, I think, to architecturally, if you will, maximize opportunities for, for sharing the educational enterprise."

Students described race relations in the school as cordial and unproblematic. However, both black and white students described racial segregation among the various levels of classes. In honors and AP courses most students were white, while college prep courses were predominantly black with only a few black students in the higher level courses and a few white students in college prep. These levels created a system in which students in lower levels



were presented with fewer challenges and opportunities and lower expectations, which in turn perpetuated their placement in lower levels. This stratification was an issue discussed by students, teachers, and administrators of all races. It was generally seen as a problem, and there were several programs in place to address the issue. Despite the awareness and efforts the problem has not been completely solved, which sometimes creates a sense of frustration.

Students felt that there were casual friendships among students of various races and ethnicities, but that most students associated with people of their own cultural background. "I think a lot, like – the majority – out of class maybe there's not a ton of interaction between the races but it's not like it's, it's not like there's, like, hostility. It's more like, neutral." Students pointed out that there was some tension between blacks and whites but that most students had "acquaintances" of both races.

"I think that everyone's just extremely comfortable around each other. Maybe it's not that we're, like, all really good friends. But I think the fact that we can work together and we can be together and it's not a problem for anyone – like, I never ever remember being, in high school at least, [where I] had a problem with working with someone of a different race, ever."

However, some African-American students, particularly males, felt uncomfortable in settings if they were the only black students in the group. They often felt that white students did not expect them to contribute as much to the group work.

The cafetéria was described as having a white side, a black side, and a few "mixed" tables.

"I have a friend that is [black]. And, somehow it's not like – like, if you walk into the cafeteria, sure there are going to be white tables and there are going to be black tables, but it's not like they can't be together. It's just something we choose. But there is no hostility. Like, if I were to go over and sit at Sherry's table, there's nothing bad about it. It's like, it just doesn't happen that way."

Students also said that there was a "black door" on one side of the school and a "white door" on the other side where students congregated after school. They described it as "segregation," though administrators were quick to point out that the division correlated with which side of the school students lived on.

Very few of the clubs at Revels were racially diverse in 1998-99. Student council, choir, and band were viewed by students as racially balanced, as was the most frequently mentioned club – the student-run group on race relations. The group, founded in 1983, is a mentoring program for fourth and sixth graders in the local elementary and middle schools. The intention is to engage high school students in teaching and modeling positive inter-racial interaction. Here, the advisor discusses the program:

"It started off where we were just taking [60] kids...And they would go in to the sixth-graders and they had a curriculum that they had created. They – where the first day that they were gonna go in, they were gonna talk about trust, and this, and support. And they had activities that they – that were interactive, and then sit

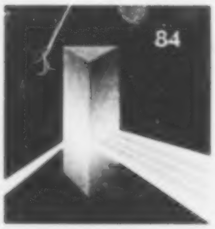
down and talk about how is this lifelike? And the second time they would go in, they would do peer-pressure and self-image and how this affects the kinds of choices you make, in race relations and everything. And the third time they went in, it was – they'd do creative problem solving. Now that you had the basics, the awareness, how do we – what is the process of solving problems? How do you do options and prioritization and blah, blah, blah...They would go in two times a year. When they went in they went in for the whole day...And over the years, it has grown to...280 students...[and] 30 teams. We're in all the fourth grades and all the sixth grades.

"And the most exciting dynamic, really, is what happens to a high school student. Because anybody who works with high school students knows that you don't tell high school students what to do. You just say, 'Could you help me tell this guy how to get it done?' And so, of course that was always the raison d'être. But we never said that. We always said, 'We need help with these sixth graders.' [And they said], 'No problem.' So as that way, you can teach them. And so, I would tell them all of these things, 'This is what sixth graders do, sixth graders leave people out, sixth graders do this.' And then about October or November, they would say to me, 'You know, I think we do some of that.' It was, it was amazing, okay? But what happened also was that...I meet with the core, the core of the leaders [at] my house every Sunday night from 6:30 to 10:00 and then we'd do support group...[and] curriculum. And, and they're completely in charge. I am there to tell them about the sixth-grade child, what works, what doesn't work. Basically what I'm teaching them is how to teach."

This student-run group was extremely popular among students. They were required to apply for admission and go through a series of workshops and activities before being chosen. The advisor always received more applicants than could be placed in the program. The program was successful in the eyes of students, teachers, and administrators at improving race relations in the district. An additional benefit of the program was that many students developed a love for teaching. "Certain activities lose and gain popularity, or – but the [students'] methodology blows my mind. They're so very creative. And you see amazing teaching ability. And the most important thing to me was that a lot of students who never thought of education, especially black males, went into education [in college, based on] this experience."

The girls' volleyball team was typically mentioned as the most diverse sports team, while most of the other sports were described as being dominated by one particular race. Most students and teachers felt this was because some sports were more traditionally played in black or white communities. For example, the boys basketball team was predominantly black, while the crew team was almost completely white. Crew was segregated by income as well, requiring equipment and transportation to and from practices.

While sports and other extra-curricular



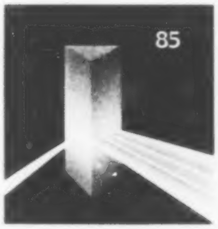
activities affected or reflected race relations among students, perhaps the most provocative issue was the system of academic levels of tracking.

"I'm in mostly CP [college prep] classes. I've taken a few Honors throughout high school. But, so I'm used to, like, the very mixed classes. I'm used to – every white's been in the minority in my classes. So I'm used to – I get along really well – it doesn't, it's not like a black thing. Like, I don't hesitate to approach black kids or any other race kids, just because I've always been around them. And, I mean, that's definitely an advantage to me just because it's opened my mind up. And I haven't been hesitant to make new friends.... For those AP and Honors white students, like, they're placed in the position where there's, like, two or three black kids in the class and they see that and they automatically look down on black kids because they're 'obviously' not as smart as them, you know, like, supposedly because they aren't in this class....

"But I think that, like, we talked about with the article a lot – when all those statistics came out in the school newspaper about the gap between the blacks and the whites or whatever and so – and they say that basically the reasons are that parents aren't urging their kids to take the Honors and AP classes, they don't want them to be with only white kids. And so they don't want to – because they don't want them to take the classes, they don't encourage them as much. They don't support them. And then also, there's the black students will, like, make fun of other black students like, 'Why are you acting white? Blah, blah, blah.' They do that all the time."

The staff seemed to support the tracking system, feeling that it better allowed teachers to meet the needs of their students.

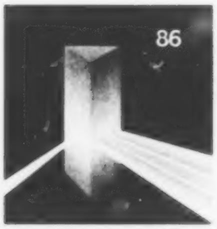
"As a teacher...I taught students of different levels – we called them levels. And I think it's more accurate to refer to them as levels in our situation rather than tracks because tracks is an image of, of, like rails going off into the distance...It gives this image of staying on one track. And now, we, we do have levels of instruction. And in my experience, I will admit, that in teaching different levels of instruction, that I personally did find it more advantageous to have different levels of instruction. When I taught AP, the level of difficulty, the quantity of work that was covered, was clearly inappropriate for most of the students that I had in college prep level. Now, there were some students I had in college prep who could have done AP work. And there were some students at the bottom, if you will, of the AP track, or level, who could have been equally as well served in a CP curriculum. So my first position on this, and I think it's a position that's shared by most of our faculty, is that there's some instructional sense in maintaining levels."



While the tracking or leveling system has the effect of separating students by race, it operates differently than in other schools. The system is open in that students can elect to be in the various levels and, most importantly, the lowest level is college prep. The teacher continues,

"Secondly, the importance of calling them levels is because we have what we refer to as an open leveling system...which means that students can elect, to move up or move down a level as it seems academically appropriate. So what did we do? What we're trying to do is two things. Number one, we're trying to maintain the standards of these different levels of instruction because we think it's served our community well. Advanced work – we want to maintain an advanced standard. It leads kids to develop advanced knowledge or advanced skills. We think that that sends them off really well. So we want to maintain a standard in all of our levels. And secondly, we want to encourage as many of those students who are in those marginal areas or those cusp areas to choose wisely and ideally to choose up.

"So we're trying to do a – we're trying to get people to want to take on a higher academic challenge. Then beyond that, we're trying to encourage our parents to know what does that mean? What kind of home support is necessary? What kind of study habits are expected? And that you don't move up and then just do it immediately. It would be like me going from, you know, jogging a quarter mile to jogging a mile and a half and thinking that my body's going to adjust instantaneously. I mean, there's got to be some kind of growth or adjustment period. So we try to get kids who are moving up to stay with it long enough that you can start to come on board and so forth...I'm going to say round numbers, but it's sixty to seventy percent I'd say of our courses are college preparatory level. And thirty percent are Honors or AP. And, there are no, what we would call, general education level courses."



For students needing special help the school had self-contained, "intervention classes....taught by a special-ed teacher, with a small number of kids – all who have a dire handicapped condition." Additionally, they had inclusion classes at the college prep level for students with learning disabilities. A teacher said, "I, I really – actually I celebrate this whole idea of everyone [participating]. We've got LD kids on the college prep level, Honors level and AP level."

A notable aspect of the school's system was that college prep was the lowest track of class available to students, with the exception of the "intervention" classes. That meant that every student in the school was expected to leave high school prepared to do college work. The administrators were concerned with maintaining high standards. However, not all teachers agreed with the system of tracking or the motivations behind it.

"The political dynamics affecting school administration are such that, an administrator is going to serve himself best by maintaining the status quo – particularly in these suburban districts. In a Shaker-like setting, there is enormous fear of change because...power being equated with wealth and education – those kids are

doing just fine, thank you. And there's absolutely no interest in any change. So we'd rather pretend that high expectations – the mantra of high expectations, is the solution to our problem. And in fact, anybody that goes into the kind of classrooms I'm talking about where you have effectively, separated out the poorest students – to try high expectations on them? That's absolute nonsense."

This teacher argued that such an educational structure served as a social sorting system. His vision embraced heterogeneous classrooms as easier to teach and more beneficial for all students.

Students, too, experienced the limitations of the school's tracking system. Moving from a CP-level class to an honors-level class was called, "jumping," something students found quite difficult to do.

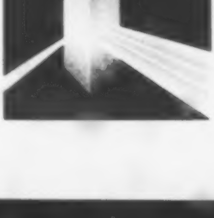
"I feel that it's really hard – if you don't start out with ninth grade, even seventh grade maybe...if you don't start out in higher classes like Honors classes when you're younger, it is so hard to get into that system when you're older. Like I, I was never really that competitive when I was younger, and so I just took regular CP classes...So I was never in, like, any of the honors classes. Like a few times, I would take, like, an honors English class or something. But that wasn't, like, my basic core curriculum. My classes were mostly CP. So then, like, it's so hard to get into those, AP and honors classes...I wish I had challenged myself a lot more. But I felt, like, after, like, tenth grade, I couldn't get into those classes...."

Even students who were taking honors-level classes in one curricular area found it difficult to "jump" in other areas.

"It's not impossible, but it's, like, not easy because I've found that, during my elementary years with the tracking and things like that – I was tracked to be in higher level English classes, reading comprehension and all that stuff [because] my scores were high. And so I'm taking AP English and AP Spanish and AP Government. You know, like all the Humanities courses. But to be able to 'jump,' like, the math courses...they put you a year ahead of everyone else."

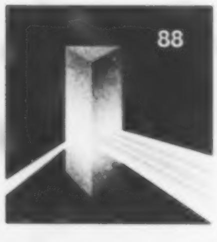
Part of the problem is the preparation that students have had before attending a high school in which these levels occur. The school tried to address this problem by having a "bridge" program, which is conducted during the summer to help students "jump" to honors and AP classes. For many students, this was not an easy, appealing, or effective option. Another difficulty was that jumping in one area requires skills in another area.

"So for me to be able to take an AP physics class or chemistry or AP math or any of that, I would have had to go to summer school and taken a class in summer school and then come back and been able to do the jump then. And even if, like, I wanted to take a higher level of science class I couldn't have because I wasn't a year ahead in math. So it's sort of like those two are connected more so than the other subjects."



Another program that focused on achievement, "Achievement Scholars," was successful in raising the grades of African-American males. The program created a mentoring relationship between junior and senior boys who were chosen as Achievement Scholars and freshman and sophomore boys with marginal grades who were chosen as Potential Scholars. Every other Wednesday the upper classmen wore jackets and ties for their mentoring session with the younger boys. The young men chosen for this program were high achieving students who were involved in multiple extra-curricular activities. Many of them were star athletes as well. At the start of each mentoring session, these impressive young men would stand at the front of the auditorium while the younger students entered. The older students engaged in a dialogue with the younger boys regarding study habits, grades, and future aspirations. The most notable aspect of the program was that older students had been effective in making it "cool" to be academically successful. The school recently had begun the "Sister Scholars" program for African-American girls.

Most students reported that the curricula was predominantly Euro-centric. One exception mentioned by students was an African-American history course. In contrast, teachers saw their curricula as more inclusive. Though a few black students said that having materials written by or about African Americans was not important, the majority stressed the value of learning about one's own history. Students of both races articulated a desire to learn about cultures other than their own.



"I think it's really important. I think especially – things are changing so fast, and the world is becoming – you can't just, like, hide in your own little corner and ignore everything else that's going on all about you, and ignore everybody else around you. I mean there's so many – you need to know, if nothing else, their history, the history of what's happened, and what's brought us to this point and why things are the way they are now. And you can't understand other people – understand where they're coming from and be able to respect them. And, I mean, you may disagree with them, but you need to at least know what they're saying and where they're coming from. And to do that, you really need to know about other cultures and other places. You can't just [learn about] yourself and say, 'Well I know about me and that's all I need to know. I don't have to worry about anything else.' That's just not a reasonable attitude to take in today's society."

Teachers and administrators expressed support for the idea of inclusive curricula. However, they found that the national AP curricula made implementing such curricula difficult. AP students were required to pass an exam that covered primarily Euro-centric material.

Hiram R. Revels has a greater opportunity than many other schools in the EIIP to achieve full integration. The history of desegregation in the city is strong, and this attitude of community support is apparent in the school setting. Moreover, the area has a relatively small low-income population, meaning that students have more resources and the encouragement and ability to focus on school. There are a number of impressive programs in place to affirmatively address race issues. The teachers and students we interviewed seemed open to discussing issues of race. School values regarding race are consciously addressed within the larger community. Despite this, revisions in the school's curricula are necessary in order to achieve integration in conformity with Allport's criteria. Somehow the school must find a way to balance its focus on college preparation and academic achievement with the need for a more inclusive curricula. In fact, true integration would suggest that these are not mutually exclusive goals, but rather goals that can help students become more educationally, socially, and emotionally well-balanced.

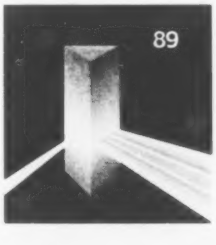
F. San Jose Schools Context

Desmond Tutu High School in San Jose California resides in the Fremont Union High School District. Unlike most of the other school districts in the EIIP, Fremont Union School District does not have a desegregation litigation history. As a result, the context section for the Desmond Tutu High School area differs from the other school contexts in this report. Noteworthy information regarding the school and district is included to provide background information regarding the influences and environment surrounding the school. The district stands far ahead of the other districts in the EIIP in their collection and dissemination of detailed student profiles including racial composition, test scores by student characteristics, and enrollment data.

Desmond Tutu had a 1999 graduation rate of 81 percent, markedly higher than the state average of 69 percent. In 1999, 72 percent of students completed University of California/California State University admissions requirements, which was almost double the state average of 37 percent. Advanced placement classes (AP) were a high priority for the school. Forty-seven percent of junior and senior students achieved placement in AP classes compared to 13 percent statewide; 37 percent enrolled in AP science versus 14 percent for the state (1998 data); and 29 percent AP math enrollment compared to 10 percent (1998 data). The school offered AP classes in biology, chemistry, calculus, computer science, English, French, statistics, Spanish, U.S. history, and U.S. government. Desmond Tutu also provided other honors courses in analytical geometry and calculus, math analysis, chemistry, physics and world literature.

In 1998, Desmond Tutu students fared better than statewide averages on standardized testing. Seventy-five percent of students took the SAT, versus 36 percent statewide. Seventy-five percent of students scored over 1,000, while statewide that number was 19 percent. In 1999, 75 percent of students scored above the national average in reading, and 90 percent scored higher in math. As for students with limited-English proficiency, 30 percent scored higher than the national average in reading compared to 10 percent statewide, and 89 percent scored higher than the national average in math compared to 23 percent for the state. Ninety-three percent of 1998 graduates went on to attend college, with 69 percent at four-year institutions and 24 percent at two-year colleges.

Two percent of Desmond Tutu students were economically disadvantaged as measured by free or reduced lunches. None of Desmond Tutu's economically disadvantaged students scored above the national average on the SAT-9 exam, but 76 percent of students who were not economically disadvantaged did so. The district saw 20 percent of its economically disadvantaged students achieve above the national aver-



age, while the state figure was 23 percent. Comparatively, the district had 61 percent and the state had 51 percent of students not economically disadvantage perform above the national average.[156]

According to the high school web page, Desmond Tutu High School served the communities of West San Jose with portions of Saratoga and Cupertino. The majority of the students came from educated households and had parents who worked in "high-tech" firms. Fourteen percent were identified as gifted and five percent were seen as limited in English proficiency.

The Fremont Union High School District, like many others throughout the nation, implemented a no-tolerance approach to students who display destructive behaviors. For example, one student caught selling drugs on school property was permanently suspended from Fremont and ordered to attend Desmond Tutu. According to Fremont Union High School District Superintendent Joe Hamilton, 20 to 30 students in the district were forced to make similar "administrative transfers" to comprehensive high schools.[157]

Voters were willing to make major improvements within the 40 to 70 year old schools of the Fremont Union High School District by overwhelmingly approving a $144 million bond measure. The money will go to various building repairs, as well as science labs and library improvement projects.[158] A volunteer committee found that classrooms built in the 1950s and 1960s needed new plumbing, heating, and water systems. Although most of the money is allocated for general repairs and renovations, the school is slated to receive additional classrooms.[159]

Desmond Tutu High School was named 89th nationwide in encouraging its students to excel academically. The rating system used the number of AP tests taken at the school divided by number of graduating seniors.[160] Yet, the leader in the fight for the voucher system for California public education, Alan Bonsteel, went to Desmond Tutu and questioned the academic climate of the school. "I was an academic in a nonacademic high school," he said. "I wanted depth and knowledge, and it was a school that dealt with things on a superficial level."[161]

1. Desmond Tutu High School San Jose, California

Desmond Tutu High School falls in the desegregated portion of the spectrum, and it is struggling to become an integrated school. It was a "high achieving" school with over 1,700 students during the 1998-1999 school year. Desmond Tutu's student population was 52 percent Asian, 42 percent white, 4 percent Hispanic, 1 percent African-American, and 1 percent Native American. Desmond Tutu ranked third in the state in SAT scores and had a nationally known math team. The school's dropout rate was 0.5 percent.[162]

Historically, more than 90 percent of students went to college and the majority of graduates went to Ivy League four-year universities. Because of this high achievement, many students and faculty felt that students had a high degree of stress. "I think there's too much work. I mean, I'm up 'til 1:00 at night – and I'm only a freshman! And I've heard it gets to be a lot more." Groups of students tended to blame other groups for the competitive and stressful academic environment. The faculty and students also discussed cheating and a rampant drug problem.

Students and teachers agreed that the school was largely segregated. Many students preferred to associate with friends of their own race although there was some mixing, especially in the classroom. Despite this, most felt Desmond Tutu was the best school in the district because among other things, its academic standards were very high. The assistant principal said, "Mostly all the classes are college prep, students do not really have the option of taking non-college courses. There is some segregation but students get along well."

Although students had amiable relationships, there was underlying prejudice toward Asian students. Some students said that they felt the school had been "invaded" by Asian students. One stated, "Businesses are closing down and they're putting up Asian businesses, it seems like everything that like falls it just rises Asian."

"Because the Asian people hang out together I think a lot of white people resent that kind of thing. They're like, 'Why can't – why don't they wanna be friends with us?' And they resent the fact that they hang out just amongst themselves. They won't go the extra mile to become friends with them. But then again, [white students are] not doing anything to become friends with [Asian students]."

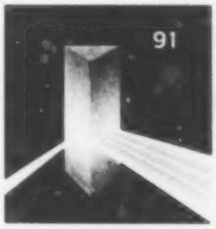
Some students expressed frustration with students who spoke in their primary languages and believed it meant that they could not speak English or felt it was rude. One student said,

"I love listening to people's accents but when there's a big population of Asians who are coming in and they don't speak a word of English – and they're in the classrooms and they don't know what's going on. And then they don't speak English so you hear them speaking in their Asian language or whatever. Like all during class period reading their Asian books. If they don't know how to speak the language, they should at least take a class or a couple before they come into the classroom."

A teacher taught a group of white students who she felt were struggling due to feelings of isolation and animosity toward Asian students. She described these students as, "basically white and basically the kids who are at this school and feel like they're foreigners in their own school. There is definitely a segment of the [white] population that is uncomfortable with the Asian population." Additionally, some white students behaved negatively toward Asian students. A teacher stated,

"There is a definite prejudice against new immigrants that don't speak English. If they don't speak English they are definitely looked down upon. They are looked on as being sneaky. As, 'Oh yeah. You're just saying you don't understand just to get out of doing what you don't want to do.'"

Adding to the animosity was the perception that Asian students drove the high achievement standards. When asked about challenges regarding race relations, one student said that some white students felt "intimidation by all the Asian people – how they get better grades. [The white students] get happy when they get an A. My Asian friends, they'll be like, "Oh, my god! I got a B. My parents are going to kill me!"



The faculty felt that the school usually "errs on the side of overdoing multiculturalism." However, some students felt that teachers reinforced students' negative perceptions of Asian students. Some students felt that teachers picked on Asian students because they tend to be soft-spoken. A teacher stated,

> ***"They don't venture out to get English speaking friends. They don't do as well because they don't learn English as fast. And also, then it starts to look like a clan. And then you get, sort of, bad feelings because they're cliquish. So, the kids that venture out and try to make friends outside of their comfort zone really are the ones that do best."***

Generally, Asian students were given sole responsibility of approaching white students rather than focusing on creating a mutual approach. Some teachers took steps to counter some of the negative interaction. One teacher had a group of 35 students who did peer counseling.

The school enjoyed a high degree of parental involvement. Teachers and administrators credited much of the school's success to parents. Parents were involved in fundraising for music, athletics, and scholarships. Additionally, there was a "bilingual advisory committee which consists of parents who are trying to draw the newer immigrants who don't speak English or don't feel comfortable in the school and trying to be a bridge between them and the rest of the community."

Students had a variety of opinions regarding the diversity of their curricula. While most students agreed that American history focused on "white" history, there were discrepancies regarding English courses. Some students initially felt they received diverse curricula, but when asked about the authors and subjects of their reading, most students cited traditional Euro-centric materials. One student characterized them as "old white guys." Another student said, "We don't really have that much diversity." The music teacher attempted to expose students to other cultures through the use of folk songs. She stated, "One of the cool things about music is that it's an opportunity to expose people to other cultures. That's what I try to do with the folk songs. And also, to interpret the words to develop empathy for other people's situations."

Students and teachers felt it was important to learn about a wide variety of cultures. However, many believed that it was less important to learn about their own heritage. When asked how important it was to study her own culture one student said, "Yes, but it doesn't really matter…As long as I'm exposed to a lot of different things then that's fine." Another student demonstrated a separate view, "Well, I feel, like, a sense of pride when my class is learning about my background." Still another said, "I would like people to know what [African Americans] went through a while back, for all them years."

Desmond Tutu had the advantages of a high achieving student population, financial resources, and parental support. Despite this, racial animosity was a significant problem for students. The school and community were facing the somewhat new challenge of how to integrate students when a minority group becomes a majority and excels above the level of other students. Majority-minority issues are creating a need for changes in policies, programs, curricula, and teacher training in San Jose and other communities in California.

G. Berkeley School Context

Berkeley, a city of approximately 100,000 people, had 9,126 students in its public schools during the 1997-98 school year. The Berkeley Unified School District encompasses eleven elementary schools, three middle schools, a high school, a continuation high school, and an adult school. District-wide, the student population in 1997-98 was 42.4 percent African-American, 33.6 percent white, 13.5 percent Hispanic, 10.0 percent Asian American, and 0.4 percent Native American.

The mission statement of the Berkeley Unified School District affirms the district's commitment to integration:

> ***The mission of the Berkeley Unified School District, as the beacon for a diverse community united in commitment to public education, is to ensure that all of its students discover and develop their special talents, achieve their educational and career goals, and succeed in a rapidly changing, multicultural society by empowering the students, parents, community, and staff; providing a strong core curriculum; and offering special programs and alternative learning experiences in a racially integrated, pluralistic environment.***

The Berkeley school district is in many ways a model of the conscientious quest for school desegregation and integration. But Berkeley is also a showcase for the difficulties involved in achieving true school integration. Despite their efforts and successes, Berkeley school officials and students continue to confront complex problems of inter- and intra-school segregation and some of the conflict associated with becoming an integrated school in our society.

Berkeley is one of the few school districts nationwide whose desegregation plan was initiated by the local board of education without court action.[63] Beginning in 1964, Berkeley was among the first urban school districts in the country to voluntarily bus students to achieve desegregation. But a parent of that era commented in 1994: "If ever there was a community that wanted to integrate—where the will was there, the dream was there, the vision was there...(yet) three years later, the kids were segregated on the playground…the kids…were eating at separate tables. And in the 20 years since, we've not been able to figure out a way to get kids to have lunch together."[64]

In 1940, only 4 percent of Berkeley's public school students were African-American, but by 1958 the percentage of African-American students was 29 percent. Berkeley was becoming one of the most racially diverse cities in the West, but segregated housing patterns persisted, resulting in segregated neighborhood schools. This was the situation that in January of 1958 prompted the Berkeley branch of the NAACP to address the Berkeley board of education, and ask what they could do to help. Six months later, after some foot-dragging by the Board, an interracial citizens' committee was appointed to gather information about school segregation in the district. On October 19, 1959, the Citizen's Advisory Committee made its recommendations for comprehensive improvement in all educational programs and services, improvements in interracial relations and intercultural education, and a new fair-employment policy directed at increasing the number of minority employees in the professional classifications.

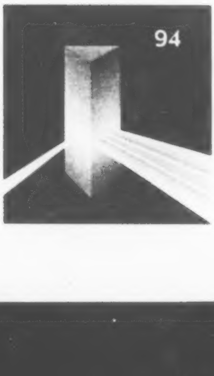
Despite divisions in the community and among the district staff, the Board, backed by innovative School Superintendent C.H. Wennerberg, implemented the bulk of the committee's recommendations. No attempt was made at this time; however, to address the de facto segregation of Berkeley's schools.[165]

In 1962, the Board of Education was made to confront the desegregation issue it had avoided in 1959. On May 1, 1962, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) presented to the Board its study finding de facto segregation in the Berkeley schools. The city's single public high school was of necessity integrated, but CORE found that most of the lower schools were severely segregated. According to the CORE report, eight Berkeley elementary schools had a white enrollment of 94 percent or more, while two other schools enrolled 94 percent or more non-white students. Of the city's three junior high schools, one was 99 percent white, and another 75 percent black. The school superintendent joined in CORE's recommendation that a broadly representative citizens' committee be appointed to analyze the problem and suggest solutions, and the board acquiesced.[166]

This interracial committee of 36, under the chairmanship of Berkeley minister Dr. John Hadsell, offered its report and recommendations to the board on November 19, 1963, before an overflow audience of 1200 citizens. In addition to renewing the earlier committee's call for increased minority hiring and compensatory education programs, the Hadsell committee squarely addressed the problem of segregated schools by proposing partial redrawing of both elementary- and junior-high-school boundaries, supplemented by voluntary and limited open enrollment. Two months later, a second public hearing on the Hadsell committee's report drew 2500 people, with more than fifty speakers from community organizations voicing support for the committee's recommendations, and the newly formed Parents Association for Neighborhood Schools (PANS) leading the opposition.[167]

Meanwhile, a junior high school English teacher named Marjorie Ramsey, aided by interested citizens and colleagues, proposed a junior high school reorganization plan aimed at integrating those schools. Under the Ramsey proposal, all of Berkeley's seventh and eighth graders would attend two of the city's three junior highs, and all ninth graders would attend the third school, which would become an integral administrative part of the senior high school. The senior high would thereby become a four-year high school, located on two campuses.[168]

The board turned both the Hadsell committee recommendations and the Ramsey proposal over to Superintendent Wennerberg for review, instructing him to ascertain the staff's reactions and recommendations, and to study the educational and financial feasibility of the various proposals. On May 19, 1964, at a public board meeting attended by several thousand Berkeley citizens, Superintendent Wennerberg recommended implementation of the Ramsey plan for junior high school reorganization. As an alternative to the Hadsell committee's elementary school redistricting plan, he proposed that all students in grades kindergarten through three attend the schools that had been predominantly white, and that the fourth- through sixth-graders attend the previously predominantly black schools. The board unanimously approved the junior high reorganization plan, to be phased in over the next two years, but indefinitely tabled the elementary school desegregation plan as (politically) unfeasible.[169]



In response to the board's unanimous decision to desegregate Berkeley's junior highs, desegregation opponents PANS launched an effort to recall the entire board. After months of intensive campaigning by both supporters and opponents of the board, a special election on the recall petition was held on October 6, 1964. By that time, three of the five board members had resigned, so only the two remaining members were subject to recall. Fifty-seven percent of Berkeley's voters went to the polls, and the result was a resounding three-to-two victory for the incumbents.[170]

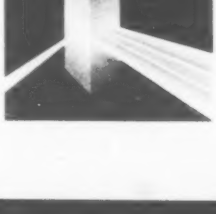
The board saw the defeat of the recall petition as an endorsement of its desegregation agenda. Following the recall election, when the board appointed three new members to fill the existing vacancies, a major criterion for appointment was support for school desegregation. In the midst of the recall campaign, Superintendent Wennerberg had retired, and the board hired Dr. Neil V. Sullivan, a nationally known supporter of school desegregation, as the new superintendent.[171]

The United States Commission on Civil Rights later credited the strong leadership exerted by Superintendents Wennerberg and Sullivan and by the school board, as well as community participation, with the successful implementation of the 1964 junior high school desegregation plan.[172] Yet, the city's elementary schools remained deeply segregated.

In 1967, the NAACP, joined by parent groups and teacher associations, petitioned the Berkeley board of education for immediate desegregation of the elementary schools. They chided the board for stalling on elementary school integration. Superintendent Sullivan wanted systemwide desegregation, but he believed that at least a year of planning was essential to successful elementary school desegregation. On his recommendation, the Board voted unanimously on April 18, 1967 to accomplish total desegregation of Berkeley's elementary schools by September of 1968.[173]

Superintendent Sullivan, after receiving a report from a district committee that had reviewed more than 300 proposals, recommended implementation of the elementary school redistricting plan that the board had tabled in 1964. In January 1968 the board adopted the final version of this plan, to be initiated in September of that year. The elementary school districts were redrawn into four strips running from east to west. The zones were designed to contain equal representations of the various racial and socioeconomic groups. Each of the four zones encompassed previously segregated eastside (predominantly white) schools and west- and southside (predominantly black) schools. Within each zone, the kindergarten through third-graders would attend the eastside or middle area schools, and the fourth- through sixth-graders would attend the west- and south-side schools. Under this plan, approximately 3500 of the 9000 elementary school students would be bused each year to schools more than a mile from their homes, with west- and south-side minority children primarily bused in the first four years of school, and east-side white students primarily bused in the last three years of elementary school.[174]

Simultaneously with the adoption of the 1968 desegregation plan, the school board adopted an affirmative action hiring policy with the intent of bringing the number of minority teachers into line with the number of minority students in the district. On the board's instructions, the district personnel director conducted a nationwide search for minority teachers.[175]



In the months leading up to September 1968, the district administration made efforts to ease the transition to system-side desegregation, and to unite the community behind the undertaking. The superintendent and district staff met frequently with community, faculty and student groups to facilitate a smooth transition; teachers observed and taught at schools with different racial compositions than their own; and children met with the students from the schools with which theirs would be paired. Despite complaints that the program disproportionately burdened black students because they were bused at a younger age than white students, Berkeley's busing program was accepted by the community with minimal dissension.[176]

In September of 1968 Berkeley became the first American city with a population of over 100,000 and a sizable black community to completely desegregate its schools.[177]

The 1968 desegregation plan was not significantly altered until 1993. However, during the 1970s, with funding from the federal Experimental Schools Project (ESP), the district experimented with "alternative" schools in which enrollment was voluntary. As many as 30 percent of the district's students were enrolled in ESP programs, several of which were racially imbalanced. Among these programs were Black House, an alternative high school for black students, focusing on African-American culture, and Casa De La Raza, an alternative K-12 school serving students with Spanish-speaking backgrounds. These two schools came to the attention of the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which investigated and concluded that the two programs' racial exclusivity violated Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Following this 1973 determination, the district closed both Black House and Casa De La Raza.[178]

In the late 1970s, following the expiration of the federal ESP grant, the Berkeley school district experienced a severe financial crisis. Throughout this period, despite substantial budget cuts that necessitated staff lay-offs and salary cuts, the school board remained committed to the expensive busing program.[179]

Change was in the air in 1992 when Berkeley voters passed a $158 million General Obligation Bond measure to fund school building projects. The prospect of this large-scale renovation and rebuilding project occasioned much discussion of reorganizing the school system. The twenty-five year old busing program was criticized for failing to substantially raise the achievement levels of black students, and for alienating white families, many of whom pulled their children out of the system in favor of private schools. Berkeley parents joined others around the country in clamoring for more "choice" in school assignments. Moreover, the city's shifting demographics had rendered the busing system obsolete, and some elementary schools were becoming resegregated.[180] The school board had mixed feelings about reconfiguring the schools. In 1992, one board member said that if busing for desegregation was abandoned in favor of open enrollment, "(m)any of our schools would become even more segregated, and I don't think that's a basis for quality education." Another board member voiced a differing view: "If we develop strong schools and then end up with schools that are (racially) out of balance, I'm prepared to accept that."[181]

In December of 1993, following the recommendation of a fifty-member task force, the Berkeley School Board voted to abandon the district-wide busing program that it had voluntarily instituted in 1968, in favor of a system of "controlled choice" of schools at the elementary and middle school levels. The board also changed the schools' grade configuration to a K-5, 6-8 (middle school), and 9-12 system. Under the "controlled choice" system, the city is divided into three elementary school "attendance zones," and two middle school zones, each with approximately the same balance of white and minority populations. Parents of elementary and middle school students filled out an enrollment form listing their first, second and third choices of schools. Preference was given to students living within a school's attendance zone, and the district provides transportation only within each zone. Desegregation retains a role in the new system; in order to keep every school within five percentage points of the citywide average black and white student populations, the district may assign students to maintain racial balance. The new system went into effect at the start of the 1995-96 school year.[182]

The new system has not been completely successful in keeping each school's black and white student population within 5 percent of the district-wide average. In the 1998-99 school year, Berkeley's twelve elementary schools ranged from 25 percent to 47 percent African-American, 15 percent to 34 percent white, 4 percent to 43 percent Latino, and 3 percent to 18 percent Asian American.[183]

Berkeley's single public high school has always been desegregated. As the lower schools were being desegregated, efforts at the high school have focused on programs to foster racial sensitivity, and to reduce the gaps in achievement between minority and white students. In 1968, spurred by demands from the Black Students Union, Berkeley's high school became the first and only high school in the nation to develop a Black Studies Department. The school also offers classes in Latino studies. Since 1991, when the school board acted in response to lobbying by a group calling itself STOP (Students Together Opposing Prejudice), all freshmen have been required to take an ethnic studies class.[184] In 1993, the high school principal instituted a "detracking" program in which the range of ninth-grade English and history courses were replaced with core curricula for students of mixed abilities. Detracking has proved controversial, with some parents of high-achieving students complaining that the school's high standards have been lowered.[185]

Despite ongoing efforts to truly integrate it, the Berkeley high school remains internally segregated. Addressing parents in 1993, Principal James Henderson acknowledged, "race is our Achilles Heel." The San Francisco Chronicle reported in 1994 that many upper level classes at the school are filled with white and Asian American students, while the basic academic courses contain predominantly black and Latino students. The author concluded that, "if the success of integration is measured by academic achievement across racial lines, [the school] has failed."[186]

On October 18, 1994, The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) broadcast a 150-minute documentary about Berkeley's high school. Called "School Colors," the documentary followed a diverse group of students and their principal through the 1993-94 school year. The show highlighted academic and social segregation within the school. A black student told the interviewer, "[This school] is like the real world, and the real world is totally segregated. No such thing as integration when it comes to America. We all want to be with our own." A San Francisco Chronicle reviewer called "School Colors" "one of the scarier programs you'll see this year." But on the day the show aired, the newspaper also published an editorial praising the high school's administration for its continuing struggle to integrate the school. The editorial concludes: "Progress must be measured in inches, not miles, and whether or not they are aware of it, [the school's] graduates will take with them to college and work a better understanding of different races and cultures than students from other schools."[187]

A researcher, who has lived and studied in the Berkeley area, commented on the media coverage of race relationships among students that portrayed the school in a negative light due to racial tensions. She found that when a school is going through the process of transforming to an integrated setting, tension and conflict often arise as they do in most transitions.[188] It is not surprising that few racial tensions exist in the homogeneous conditions of a segregated school; likewise, it is a natural process for tensions to arise within growing and changing conditions.

1. M.K. Gandhi High School Berkeley, California

M.K. Gandhi High School lies in the integrated, but not truly integrated, portion of the spectrum. Having the most equal racial proportions of any EIIP school, and demonstrating some efforts to provide students with exposure to multicultural materials, M.K. Gandhi was further along the path toward integration than most other schools in the EIIP. Despite this, it fell short of a truly integrated school, primarily due to its overall curriculum. However, M.K. Gandhi is a unique school in that it is one of the few high schools in the nation that has a number of ethnic studies departments. During the 1997-98 school year, M.K. Gandhi High School's 3,124 students were 39.6 percent white, 35.7 percent African-American, 10.2 percent Hispanic, 9.9 percent Asian American, and 1 percent other ethnic groups.[189] The high school is known for its academic excellence. Eighty percent of M.K. Gandhi High graduates go on to college, and the school's percentage of students scoring at least 900 on the SAT is three times the statewide average.[190]

Students, faculty, and staff felt strongly about the benefits of the school's diversity. However, students segregated themselves during social times such as lunch. One student gave a complete mapping of the campus,

> ***"Right in front of the Community Theatre is where all the Caucasian students hang out. And then the majority of the black students hang on the slopes. The Latinos hang around the counselors' office on the stairs by the track. If you see any of them together, it's usually in a small group."***

The principal agreed stating, "in the classroom, I think [desegregation] is [doing] fine. Outside the classroom we clearly have [divisions]."

Teachers and students alike felt that students were more desegregated during more formal school settings such as classrooms, school clubs, and some sports. However, students felt that particular sports were reserved for particular groups. "Basketball's for African Americans. Crew is for white people. Soccer is for Latino guys. Badminton is for Asians."

Even though, during informal times, students segregated themselves, they did not feel that there was racial tension. Students commonly stated that they simply preferred to spend time with people who understood them or had similar interests. One student stated,

"I think people are afraid of being misunderstood. I think that's why they separate themselves. I would feel more comfortable talking to an African American than a Caucasian or a Latino, because different things that they do, I don't do. It's like, certain things I can go and say to my friends that I can't say to anybody else 'cause they won't understand me."

Students recognized a disparity in the racial composition of classes such as college prep. One student saw that, although the school tried to desegregate students, "If you look at all the honors courses, all you see are Caucasian kids and Asian kids. And if you look at the remedial, it's primarily African-American and Chicano." Students stated that this sent a clear message to African-American and Latino students. "But the reason it felt kinda bad was because it kinda, I don't know. It kinda makes a statement that these races that are not in here can't be at this level to do this kind of work." They also stated that "when you are the only one in a class, you feel like an outsider." Fortunately, the principal was very aware of this problem. Though she had only been at the school for a short time, she had begun to institute policies to help counter the problem. The following year, there would no longer be remedial math; all students would either join algebra or accelerated geometry. However, in spite of such steps, it was still recognized that divisions would remain. An administrator said,

> ***"Even when we have no tracking, we end up with tracked classes. The reason for that is, some of the electives are the ones that the academic-type students choose. The academic students tend to be more of non-color than color. So, if you go into our sciences classes, which are not tracked, but, as such – you'll find the upper AP classes, you're gonna have mostly whites and Asians, and the same in the math. So, there is still separation. But it's not by an intentional ability level saying, 'You're at this level before you take this class.'"***

Although more needs to be done, the school should be acknowledged for recognizing the problem and taking steps to correct it.

Further steps to provide more equal access to students of color included such things as an outreach and education campaign and more individualized attention.

> ***"There is no recruitment going on for kids who could do the work [but] don't do the work. There's no real outreach. If we consider that kids of color tend to be more intimidated by the system [and] all the things the research has to say about kids of color and their success in school, then by not reaching out to them and by not making the extra effort to contact parents and to inform parents, you're gonna have what we have. And it has been proven at this high school when there has been contact with parents, when there's been a conscious effort to touch base with the kids who could do the work, who are in those college prep classes and could easily do AP work, the numbers shoot up. The kids are successful."***

An administrator said,

> ***"Well, one of the things that [we are] trying to address in [our] ninth-grade program, is to get the kids in and make the school a little bit more personal for***

each and every kid. So that we keep a little bit better track on each of these kids. So that we can try to show better success. So that we do keep 'em. We've done tutorials, we have all sorts of extra programs for support. And, I don't know whether we're saving any kids – I'm sure we are, but still, too many of 'em are not being saved. To many of 'em are falling through the cracks."

These strategies seemed to be what students desired. Many felt that it was harder to be a good student because they were required to do many things independently such as, seeking out the college prep counselor and obtaining information about classes. One student stated that, while students were willing to be independent, they did not feel that they had any sort of safety net. "...you have to stick your neck out for things you want. You have to shout. So I guess, I kinda felt lonely at first. I knew tons of people, I have lots of connections, but I didn't feel like there was something I could fall back on." In contrast, other students felt that the independence they developed would benefit them.

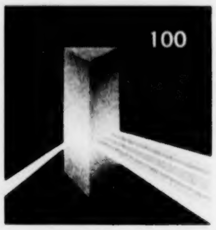
"I also think that at this school you have to, sort of, fend for yourself. No one does anything for you. You learn how to take care of yourself...You have to take care of all of that college stuff. No one's really gonna do it for you. You have to find the resources. It's like – and it helps you when you're gonna be out in the world. No one's gonna be helping you. You have to go and find [your own way]."

Students generally felt that teachers and counselors were busy and either did not have the time or the desire to give them individualized attention.

Students' impressions of teachers and counselors ranged from positive, to neutral, to negative. Some students experienced race-based difficulties while others did not. "I feel, no. To me, personality has nothing to do with your race. If you have a good personality, then I'll have no problems with you... People relate to 'em – no matter what color you are, they should be a nice person." Another student expressed that teachers gave attention only to those who caused trouble. "Unless you're fighting. Then you get a lot of attention. And I don't understand that. Because the attention shouldn't be focused on the bad [students,] it should be focused on the good." Students described their counselors as "great" and conversely, "detrimental." "At times they seem to be actively working against you developing your full potential here."

"A lot of teachers up here don't really care enough for the students. I used to get a bad grade in one class. And this teacher would not say anything to help me. It's like teachers up here need to show more attention toward the students. I just think teachers need to give more personal time towards the students and build, even, relationships with the parents so they can know what's going on in the student's life, so they can know what kind of attention they need to give that student."

Overall, the students said that they enjoyed the diversity of their school. Discussions of various cultures in the curricula helped them feel more comfortable and more connected to the school, and it helped them to be more open-minded. Students read books representing and



authored by a variety of cultures and did research on other countries. However, such diversity came in small doses. Teachers and administrators were confined by a state-adopted book list and by achievement standards. The primary focus for curriculum diversity was English and history. The principal said,

> ***"My observation since I've been here has been that those two departments, first of all, want heterogeneity and have that in their classes. And really strive to cover a wide range of issues and materials that come from a variety of sources that are both ethnically different, socioeconomically different, politically different in terms of ideology."***

The overall impression of the school's curricula was that multicultural perspectives were confined primarily to some English and history classes and the elective courses on specific cultures. One student stated that, rather than being a part of daily learning, exposure to another culture was something that students had to seek out. "If somebody wants to go out of their way to learn all this stuff it's there. [But] all the ethnic studies are separate classes." This was true aside from the general ethnic studies course required to graduate.

An administrator said of learning about one's own culture,

> ***"I think it's critical. I think that that's one of the things that keeps kids involved in school, is that things become relevant to their lives.... I think [learning about other cultures is] not critical, but I think it is really–if they only have one point of view, they're not gonna be able to do much thinking. And they need to see a variety of points of views in order to really open their mind and be able to analyze a problem."***

Most students agreed that learning about other cultures was important. One student stated, "I think it's important to have an appreciation, understanding of how varied thought is, to really be able to have a maturity about ideas." Another stated, "It is important to learn about yourself. But it's even more important to understand others because that leads back to understanding yourself – if you can relate to others and understand how others develop." On the other hand, some students, when asked if reading about their own culture was important stated, "...not that important. As long as I read something that catches my attention and something that is good, then I'm fine. I mean, it doesn't have to be, 'Is this book about black people?' and if it isn't, then I can't read it. You know?" All students highly valued learning about other cultures.

"It's important, because I know about my culture. I don't know about other people's culture. And in order to interact in the world with other people you have to know – well you don't have to, but it would be good for you to know what happened to them and how they can take things if you say certain things. So, I think it's good. I think it's important to learn about other cultures. Because what's the use of learning all about my culture when I'm living in my culture. But I'm not living in the other people's culture so I really don't know anything about them."

Students at M.K. Gandhi High School had strong desires and opinions regarding their education, and poignantly, they desired the missing components of an integrated school, such as inclusive and multicultural curricula and teachers with training and sensitivity regarding diversity issues. In spite of some remaining hurdles, M.K. Gandhi has the means and the desire to achieve true integration.

CONCLUSIONS

A. Findings

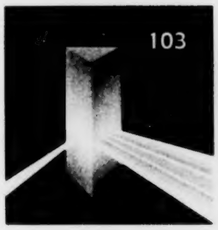
One of the most challenging aspects of the EIIP was placing schools on the spectrum from segregated to integrated. The first step toward integration is desegregation, so a segregated school must necessarily be considered far short of the goal of true integration. However, we want to give credit to several of the segregated schools we examined, schools whose teachers and administrators have implemented policies and programs aimed at providing their students with a multicultural and integrative education. While racially balanced schools must be placed farther along our segregation-to-integration spectrum, some such schools have much to learn from some of the racially isolated schools that we examined.

No school that participated in the EIIP was truly integrated, under our definition. That is, none of the desegregated schools we examined was providing its students with a truly multicultural education in a learning environment that was inclusive and supportive of various student learning styles, and that adequately prepared students of all races both to continue on with higher education, and to interact successfully in a multicultural society. Nevertheless, there is no question that the students attending desegregated schools enjoyed educational advantages that were unavailable to the students in racially isolated schools.

Students of color attending racially and economically diverse schools such as Hiram H. Revels in Shaker Heights, M.K. Gandhi in Berkeley, Paulo Freire in Chicago, and Winona LaDuke in St. Paul, generally scored higher on standardized tests, and were more likely to go on to college than were students of color in segregated schools. Moreover, all students in these racially and economically diverse schools benefited from the opportunity to broaden their educational experiences by interacting with people of other races and socioeconomic backgrounds. These students learned about our multicultural society by studying the history and literature of people of other races in a multiracial environment.

Judging by their comments, it appears that attending school alongside racially diverse students fostered students' understanding of the importance of a multicultural curriculum. Close interracial friendships among students were rare even in the racially diverse schools, but positive interracial interactions both in and out of the classroom were not uncommon. Similarly, integrative programs such as multicultural curricula were often superficial or insufficiently developed at the desegregated schools. However, it must be kept in mind that the opportunities to learn about our diverse society in a multiracial environment, and to form the relationships that will facilitate the transition to integrated workplaces and neighborhoods, are completely foreclosed for students in racially isolated schools.

Our findings agree with other research indicating that almost all segregated schools with minority populations also have largely low-income student populations. Due to the demographics of our metropolitan areas, these schools are generally in urban core school districts that are themselves impoverished. Concentrated poverty and racial isolation at both the school and district level combine to create often insurmountable obstacles to successful educational outcomes. Segregated minority schools must commonly deal not only with individual students facing situations that diminish their educational and life opportunities, but also with the deleterious effects of concentrated poverty. The



cumulative effect of many students from impoverished families in one school creates a concentration of poverty that significantly affects the achievement of all students in that school.[191] john powell has stated,

> *Poor urban schools lack the community support available to more affluent schools. In many affluent districts, parents and businesses contribute time and money to athletic and other programs, whereas poor communities are strapped with low economic development and high unemployment, and lack the time, energy, and resources to comparably support their school children.*
>
> *Inferior schools represent a component and a magnifier of the constrained "opportunity structure" imposed by residential segregation. Housing is more than shelter, it provides links to formal and informal opportunity structures. School districts are a part of the opportunity structure represented by residence. Residential segregation excludes African Americans from mainstream opportunity structures. Educational segregation, in turn, perpetuates exclusion from the social networks that lead to job information, contacts, and sponsorship.*
>
> *Moreover, students' career/life expectations are informed by the examples found in their neighborhoods and families. Professional, managerial, and other high-status workers reside primarily in the suburbs, while lower-status unskilled and semi-skilled workers are concentrated in the city. Young people, growing up in high-poverty neighborhoods, moreover, experience widespread unemployment and hopelessness as a norm. Educational segregation reinforces the diminished expectations engendered by neighborhood poverty. Students' career/life expectations directly impact their view of the relevance of education and the value of educational achievement. By contrast, desegregated education fosters black student expectations of entering high-status occupations where African-Americans are underrepresented."*[192]

The experiences of those living and working in such conditions support this. One teacher said, "The structure of the community [must be] changed deeply enough so that there is actually a possibility of fair treatment."

Many of the students in the segregated schools intended to go to college. However, many of these students had a positive view of their educational experience but an inflated perception of their future prospects, not realizing the limitations that their segregated, concentrated-poverty school was placing on their life opportunities. Teachers in these schools often recognized the disadvantages their students faced and took steps to help counter some of the structural and familial challenges by developing inclusive and empowering educational environments for their students.

With limited resources, the teachers and administrators in these schools developed innovative programs and a caring and invested staff – factors that were highly valued by students and that research suggests are keys to educational success. Still, few of the students in these segregated schools achieved academic success. While these schools had many of the curricular components of a truly integrated school, and satisfied many of the less tangible aspects of an integrated environment, they could not overcome the damaging effects of concentrated poverty and racial isolation. Despite the efforts of segregated schools, their students are still at a great disadvantage. William Trent found:

> ***The evidence from extensive survey data supports a conclusion that desegregated schooling has important long-term benefits for minority students, especially in terms of its ability to open up economic opportunities for them. Taking an even longer view, improving economic and educational opportunities for one generation of minority individuals raises the socioeconomic status of the next generation, so that those who follow are more apt to begin school at the same starting point as their nonminority classmates. Parents who have attended desegregated schools are more likely to have attended college, have better jobs, and live in desegregated neighborhoods. They are also more likely to provide their children with the skills they need to begin school.***[193]

Both teachers and students recognized the importance of familial support for and encouragement of education, with teachers in the segregated schools repeatedly citing their students' lack of familial resources as a major obstacle to their educational achievement. Parents who had limited educational opportunities, and who struggle in poverty, often have neither the financial nor the personal resources to support their children in the up-hill battle for educational equity. One teacher experienced it this way:

> ***"I couldn't assign a reading and expect it to get read. And then – and expect it to be comprehended in order to be able to just do a discussion or a project with it the next day. Here, it's, I mean, it's gotta be broken down. And a lot of them – the environment that they're coming from, you know, this isn't going on. And whether or not reading's not in the home or whether – the whole school system isn't, you know – there's a million reasons why this is happening. But the environment that they're living in...they're constantly, they're kind of focusing on survival rather than, 'Oh, I think I'm gonna read a story tonight.' You know what I mean? So I can't expect that to happen. And I don't anymore."***

The desegregated schools in the study faced fewer hurdles than the segregated schools, but they still failed to provide their students with a truly integrated education, an opportunity to equitably obtain the higher goals of education. Through tracking and other disparate treatment, white students received access to more challenging classes than students of color. Students were very much aware of this disparity, and many were dissatisfied with it. A few of the schools were taking affirmative steps to ensure that advanced-level classes did not further segregate the student body. Some of the more integrated schools recruited students of color for advanced level classes, or even eliminated the classes altogether. In these schools, advanced classes were not abandoned. Rather, expectations for all classes were raised. This type of change reflects an attitude of confidence in and empowerment of all students, which should result in higher aspirations and greater self-confidence among the students.

One significant obstacle to true integration is that most integration programs begin at the high school level, by which time the opportunity to make lasting changes may have been lost. Research supports the common-sense conclusion that educational conditions, whether positive or negative, experienced early and for a longer period of time have a more significant impact than late-coming, short-lived conditions. Students in the EIIP schools had developed patterns of racial association during elementary and middle school years that tended to perpetuate into high school. Students coming to racially diverse high schools from homogeneous elementary and middle schools often did not avail themselves of the opportunity to expand the scope of their interactions in high school.

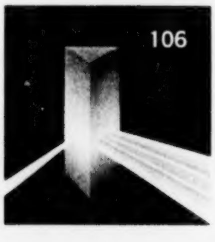
An interesting example of this was the experience of students of color who obtained early schooling in predominantly white schools. Those students tended to select primarily white friends when they entered high school. Their early, narrow experience strongly influenced their choice of friends, and persisted in spite of pressures to associate with students of their own race. One such student responded to the question of why she chose primarily white friends, "I'm not quite sure. Maybe I – I – I'm in this [environment that] actually does feel more comfortable just because I'm so used to it." Early, long-term integration in schools is most effective at introducing students to a breadth of experiences.

In virtually all of the EIIP schools, students were very much aware of race issues. Students also exhibited a remarkable interest in and understanding of the value of integration. The students generally valued diversity and were interested in multicultural curricula. A number of schools had rudimentary forms of multicultural curricula consisting of add-on projects, celebrations, or special classes, to supplement a traditional Euro-centric curriculum. Students were often critical, understanding that such things are superficial and not integrative. None of the schools had curricula that daily, throughout the year, addressed the interrelationships between cultures. Nor did most of the schools have strategies in place to help students deal with the racial tensions arising among the students.

The schools that were moving toward a truly integrated system were the schools that affirmatively valued integration and were willing to invest their resources accordingly. The staff at these schools were more willing to talk about race and to adopt programs and policies to try to achieve this goal. However, even these schools encountered constraints from the larger society, such as curricula set by the district. Moreover, all schools are constrained by school districts that reflect residential segregation, and laws that preclude inter-district desegregation measures. Given the extreme residential segregation in most U.S. metropolitan areas, regional school districts like that in Louisville, and integrative housing policies like those in place in Shaker Heights, may be our only means to integrate our schools.

B. Recommendations

None of the school systems examined provided students with the necessary components of a truly integrated educational system. We found, however, that students placed tremendous value on the various components of an integrated environment and understood the benefits of such an environment. Thus, in revisiting desegregation and integration, and tapping the insights of the people who work and are



educated in existing systems, we find that providing our students with a truly integrated education is more important and elusive today than ever. With this renewed evidence must come revitalized efforts. The failures of past desegregation attempts should provide lessons rather than discouragement. The following are suggestions to begin a transformative process toward true integration.

1. Link Education and Housing, Implement Region-wide Solutions

The initial step toward integration is the creation of desegregated and equitable educational environments for all students. Two factors currently place desegregation out of reach for many school districts. Residential segregation has created racially imbalanced school districts, and Milliken's strict limitation of inter-district remedies has precluded the metropolitan-wide programs that could desegregate schools in fragmented metropolitan areas.

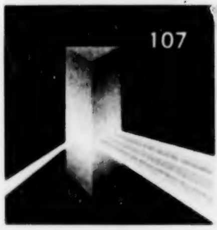
Desegregation efforts focused on schools alone will not produce lasting results – especially with the current push toward neighborhood schools. The problem is most detrimental in central cities, which are primarily composed of people of color and have high rates of poverty. EIIP schools located in areas that have proactively addressed residential segregation had distinct advantages over schools located in segregated areas. Local, state, and national initiatives that combat residential segregation through fair-share housing laws, limits on urban sprawl, and other regional strategies are the first step.

Concerted legal strategies to counter Milliken must also be undertaken. Desegregation plans that extend only to district boundaries are not likely to alleviate segregation – particularly in areas of concentrated poverty. Inter-district desegregation efforts have been shown to be more successful and stable, and can be enacted through a variety of means – from voluntary inter-district transfers, to redrawing of district lines, to district consolidation. Once integrated housing is achieved, however, such strategies will become unnecessary.

Educating community and regional residents regarding the benefits of metropolitan-wide desegregated communities and schools will rally support for the implementation of desegregated housing efforts. Engaging suburban schools in desegregation discussions can create partnerships that combine ideas and resources to make positive changes for both the central city and the suburb. Successful efforts in such areas as Shaker Heights and Berkeley can provide models for other communities.

2. Address the Connection Between Race and Poverty

The connection between race and poverty must be addressed at all levels. Minority students often live in neighborhoods segregated not only by race, but also by poverty. In such concentrated-poverty areas, students suffer the lack of opportunity structures along with their families and communities. For example, impoverished minority students have low college attendance rates, which translate into reduced career opportunities and income. Low college attendance rates are the result of multiple



factors such as family background and influences, neighborhoods, school environment, early educational failure, and lack of academic and career guidance. The needs of these students cannot be met by the school systems alone. The community at large – not just the disadvantaged neighborhood, but the surrounding areas as well – must be engaged to address the crippling problems faced by inner-city schools and their students.

Most metropolitan regions across the nation contain an urban core that continues to grow increasingly poor and racially segregated. This concentration negatively impacts the education, economics, and quality of life of the area. Regional approaches to policy-making are necessary to reduce segregation throughout an entire region, stabilize the urban core and inner-ring suburbs, and equalize educational and life opportunities. The most significant reforms needed include fair housing, property tax-base sharing, and reinvestment. Other reforms require land planning and growth management, transportation and transit reform, public works reform and coordination of educational efforts. Such reforms, however, require the formation of enduring coalitions within the metropolitan community that can withstand political resistance. These coalitions are best formed between the urban core and the inner-ring suburbs. Although fostering a regional approach is a large undertaking, it must be done if integration efforts are to succeed.

3. Improve Teacher Diversity and Training

The positive impact on EIIP students of broad racial and ethnic representation among teachers was evident. Teachers of color can provide students with role models, positive interracial interaction, and a sense of inclusion. School systems must make a commitment to recruiting and training teachers of color.

Reforms must be implemented in teacher education programs at colleges and universities if schools are to have an enlightened and well-trained pool of educators from which to draw. The EIIP uncovered a widespread lack of understanding among teachers of the importance of an integrated education. Teacher education programs must place a priority on teaching both the value of integration and the means to create integrated schools. Additionally, teacher education programs must model integration by transforming their own programs into integrated systems. As a result, teachers will be armed with the information and understanding needed to implement integration within their schools.

Empowering teachers to identify and act upon issues most important to providing an integrated education to students will invigorate integration efforts in the students' daily environment.

4. Implement Structural, Curricular, and Programmatic Changes

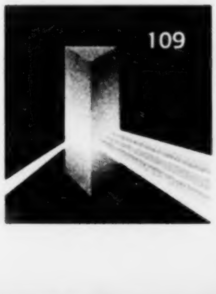
Students in the EIIP were keenly aware of the benefits of integration among structural and curricular aspects of their schools. They were also keenly aware of the lack of such aspects. The first structural obstacle to equitable education that must be eliminated from schools is tracking. Such within-school segregation damages students' self-concepts and is detrimental to the academic and social education of all students. Other policy and programmatic factors such as teaching methods and resources, extra-curricular activities, class size, and community and parent involvement must more equitably address the needs of all students.

Curricula must incorporate materials that represent the voices and experiences of a breadth of people. Such materials make up the curricula of an integrated system; they should not be tacked onto a traditional Euro-centric curriculum.

C. Continuing Issues

As expected, the work of the EIIP raised as many questions as it answered. Clearly, continued research and action are required in the ongoing struggle to truly integrate our schools and communities. The EIIP helps to clarify areas of compelling need for integration as experienced by students and educators. Some issues were illuminated in interview after interview and call for further exploration. The following are suggested areas for further inquiry.

- *Changing racial composition – how to educate the population regarding the importance of preparing our school systems to address the needs of our increasingly diverse population*
- *Residential segregation – how to develop integrated communities*
- *Tracking – how to ensure that schools meet the needs of all students without segregating and isolating populations of students*
- *Student self-segregation – how to facilitate positive interaction among students within informal settings*
- *Parental involvement – how to increase parental involvement, particularly in communities with concentrated poverty*
- *ESL and limited English students – how can schools integrate these students and prevent isolation, yet respect language differences*
- *Teacher diversity – how to encourage schools to hire more minority teachers and how to attract more people of color to the teaching profession*
- *Teacher education – how to educate*



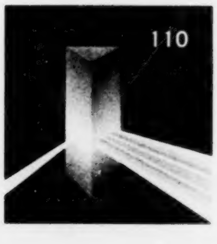
teachers to value and implement integrated teaching methods

- *Systemic changes – how to facilitate schools in transforming from desegregated to truly integrated systems*

It is clear that even the schools most agressively trying to achieve true integration face tremendous obstacles in a society that lacks a fundamental understanding of integration and the need to equitably educate all of our citizens. Many schools are trying to educate our children under extremely adverse conditions. At the root of such conditions lie racial isolation and concentrated poverty resulting from segregation. Despite the overwhelming disadvantages of continued segregation, school desegregation has fallen out of favor, and indeed, there is a sense in our society that school desegregation was a failed experiment. What is not widely understood is that it was only during a brief five-year period that all branches of the national government committed to desegregation, and even then the movement faced some state and local opposition. However, during this short time, and with only ambivalent support, a great deal was accomplished. A broad understanding of the successes of desegregation efforts is critical to rallying support for true integration.

Understandably, students in the EIIP expressed frustration with their educational environment and the life opportunities afforded them. Despite this frustration, student understanding and appreciation of an integrated education bode well for current and future integration efforts. These students lend insight and poignancy to the impact that segregative policies and practices, borne of complacency, ignorance, or racism, have on the daily lives and futures of our children. Student voices expressing what they need and what is lacking in their educational environment speak directly to true integration.

All of the schools in the EIIP are substantially constrained by our failure to address segregation in our neighborhoods, cities, and regions. Because of these constraints, many schools, despite good intentions and the implementation of innovative programs and practices, are unable to adequately prepare their students either for higher education or for a successful life in our increasingly multicultural society. While we must continue to push schools to do more, we must also be willing to implement change beyond the schools - from neighborhoods, to regions, to the nation. True integration is not an ideal that can be realized in five or ten years, it is an essential process within our democracy and our development of citizens. The process is neither easy nor without tension, yet it is our only way to provide education and opportunity to all of our people. An understanding of and passion for truly integrated educational systems must be the priority of policy-makers and educators across the country. That understanding and passion must then translate into action.



[1] Capacchione v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, 1999 WL 709975 (W.D.N.C., September 9, 1999).

[2] Although the law defines a school as desegregated by virtue of whether the school has implemented a desegregation plan that passes legal muster, as will be discussed, we consider a school to be desegregated if it has a racially and ethnically balanced student population. Thus, there are schools that we categorize as segregated because of their racially isolated student bodies that have achieved the legal status of desegregation.

[3] This is a history that primarily functions within a Black-White binary, but which has important implications for the more multi-racial schools of today.

[4] 60 U.S. (19 How.) 393 (1857).

[5] 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

[6] 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

[7] Marable Manning (1991). Race, Reform, and Rebellion: the Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990.

[8] 347 U.S. at 494.

[9] 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

[10] Harvie J. Wilkinson (1979). From Brown to Bakke: The Supreme Court and school integration: 1954-1978. New York: Oxford University Press.

[11] Griffin v. County School Board, 377 U.S. 218 (1964).

[12] 391 U.S. 430 (1968).

[13] 391 U.S. at 437-438.

[14] 391 U.S. at 439.

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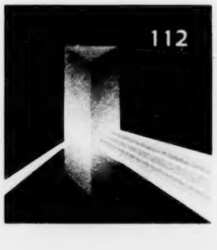

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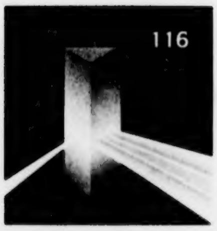

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